FIELD STUDIES IN SOCIOLOGY

A STUDENT'S MANUAL—*Palmer*

Social Science Studies

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By

VIVIEN M. PALMER

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PREFACE

Over four years ago the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago was organized to test the feasibility of the use of the city of Chicago as a laboratory for research in the social sciences. From the first, the need of securing basic data on the growth of the city and conditions of urban life was realized. Among the studies then projected for this purpose was "The Social History of the Local Communities of Chicago," which is still in progress under the supervision of Miss Vivien M. Palmer, author of this volume. The purpose of this project is to define the natural areas of the city, to trace the play of social forces in the development of its constituent local communities and neighborhoods, and to determine the differential characteristics of the distinctive urban districts of the city. These facts are among the essential data required if the city is to become, in any real sense, a laboratory for research in sociology and the other social sciences.

In the course of this and other studies Miss Palmer undertook the experiment of inducting students into the theory and practice of sociological field studies. She believed that the study of a local community, of an immigrant colony, or of some small group like a boys' or girls' club might be advantageously carried on in connection with work in the courses in sociology. She planned the work as indicated in this *Manual* in such a way that observations of group behavior in the field were timed to synchronize with the advance of the student in his reading of the textbook and in his class discussions. In this way he not only acquired some understanding of the principles and methods of research but he had at hand a growing fund of concrete materials to be organized and analyzed in terms of the concepts that he was studying.

The outlines and suggestions in this *Manual* were evolved in the course of several years' research into the methods and

techniques of research as well as several years' experience in the supervision of the field study work of groups of students. They were revised a number of times before they reached the form in which they appear in this volume. The author, I know, desires the further suggestions and criticisms which are now possible through their wider use in published form.

This *Manual* will be welcomed by the growing body of instructors in sociology who desire to integrate the work of the classroom with field study. This combined method stimulates the interest of the student, quickens his sense of the reality of sociological concepts as tools of analysis, and gives him training in the recording and interpretation of observed behavior. At the same time if the field of community study has been staked out in some comprehensive and systematic way, the project of each individual student may and should contribute to the constantly growing fund of basic descriptive materials on the growth and conditions of life in the given region, city, town, or village.

Such a plan assumes a program of continuous research. It implies that in addition to specialized individual studies there shall be a year-by-year accumulation of basic data upon the life and activities of the community. In the judgment of the writer this is a desirable and perhaps necessary preliminary condition to the utilization of the community as a social research laboratory. The *Manual* may be used by students in studying any social group to which they belong, and the outline for the study of an interest group lends itself especially to this varied purpose. But, of course, the value of the *Manual* will be enhanced if it is conceived in larger terms, as an instrument of service to teachers and students in carrying through a comprehensive plan of studies of the community life and of the characteristic organizations contained in one locality.

Ernest W. Burgess

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The co-operation of many persons interested in sociological research has made possible this volume, but the author wishes to express especial appreciation to the following people:

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To the authors who have published volumes in the sociological series of the University of Chicago, and to others who have conducted studies at the Social Research Laboratory; their experiences have been freely drawn upon.

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V. M. P.

CONTENTS

PART I. THE SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION OF SOCIETY

PAGE

NOTE TO INSTRUCTORS xiii

CHAPTER

I. THE OBJECTIVES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH 3
Selection and Definition of the Problem 5
Collection of Data 7
Analysis and Classification of Data 11
Scientific Generalizations 14
Variation in Methods among Sciences 16
Relationship of Sociology to Other Studies of Social Life . . . 17
Selected Bibliography 18

II. THE METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH 19
Case-Study Method 19
Historical Method 22
Statistical Method 26
Relationship of the Different Methods 30
Techniques of Research 32
Selected Bibliography 32

III. BASIC ASSUMPTIONS 34
Their Function 34
Conception of Sociology and Sociological Data 34

PART II. TYPE-STUDY OUTLINES

I. THE SCOPE AND USE OF TYPE STUDIES 41
Basis of Selection of Type Studies 41
Source of the Type Study 42
Use of Type-Study Outlines 43
Fourfold Objective of Type Studies 45

II. TYPE STUDY NO. 1: SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY OF A TERRITORIAL GROUP 47
Introduction
Significance of the Sociological Survey 47
Social Survey and the Sociological Survey 48
Problem of the Sociological Survey 50
Unit of the Sociological Survey 51

CHAPTER PAGE

General Plan of Study 54
Selected Bibliography 55
Assignments
1. Collection and Classification of Existing Data 57
2. First Impressions of the Governmental Area 60
3. Determination of Ecological Areas 64
4. Determination of Social Areas: Cultural, Political, Marginal 70
5. Natural History of Each Social Area 82
6. Natural History of Governmental Area 88
7. Contemporary Study of Each Social Area 91
8. Documentation, Analysis, and Interpretation of Data . . 99

III. Type Study No. 2: Sociological Study of an Interest Group 102
Introduction
Characteristics of an Interest Group 102
General Plan of Study 103
Selected Bibliography 105
Assignments
1. Diary of Group Activities 106
2. History of the Group 108
3. Membership in the Group 111
4. Members of the Group 113
5. Leadership in the Group 116
6. Group Conflicts 119
7. Social Organization and Social Control in the Group . . 122
8. Relation of the Group to the Community 125
9. Documentation, Analysis, and Interpretation of Data . . 127

IV. Type Study No. 3: Sociological Study of an Immigrant Group; An Accommodation Group 129
Introduction
Characteristics and Importance of the Immigrant Group . . 129
General Plan of Study 132
Selected Bibliography 133
Assignments
1. Collection and Classification of Existing Data 134
2. Determination of the Habitat 137
3. First Impression of the Immigrant Colony 137
4. Natural History of Immigrant Colonies 138
5. Accommodation of an Immigrant Group 139
6. Life-Histories of Immigrants 146
7. Documentation, Analysis, and Interpretation of Data . . 151

PART III. TECHNIQUES

CHAPTER PAGE

I. Introduction 157

II. Observation 161
Observation as Objective Scrutiny 161
Observation as a Record 164
Criticism of an Observation 165
Selected Bibliography 167

III. The Social Research Interview 168
Purpose of the Social Research Interview 169
The Interview as a Social Situation 170
The Initial Contact 172
The Interview Proper 174
Completion of the Interview 176
Record of the Interview 177
Types of Social Research Interviews 177
Training in Interviewing 178
Selected Bibliography 179

IV. The Diary 180
Characteristics of the Diary 180
The Diary as Sociological Material 181
The Diary of the Research Worker 182

V. The Social Research Map 185
Use of Maps in Research 185
Maps Showing Distribution of Data 185
Maps Showing Correlations between Data 187
Maps Showing Movements and Trends 188
The Making of Social Research Maps 189
Interpretation of Maps 190
Selected Bibliography 191

VI. Documentation 192
Face Sheets 194
Statement of the Problem 194
Statement of Techniques 195
The Data 195
Criticism of Data 196
Conclusion 199
Selected Bibliography 199

CHAPTER PAGE
VII. Analysis and Interpretation of Case Materials 200
Analysis 200
Sociological Interpretation 205
The New Research Problem 207
Selected Bibliography 207

APPENDIXES

Appendix A. Excerpts from Type Study No. 1 211
Appendix B. Excerpts from Type Study No. 2 237
Appendix C. Case Study of an Immigrant Group 255
Appendix D. Forms and Special Outlines 267

INDEXES

Index of Names 277
Index of Subjects 279

NOTE TO INSTRUCTORS

There is an urgent demand at the present time for manuals of research which can be used in the teaching of sociology much as laboratory manuals are being used in the other sciences. More and more stress is being placed upon concrete researches as a basis for building the science of society, and the student's own systematic investigation of some social grouping seems to be a necessary part of his introduction to sociology. For these first-hand studies of relatively small groups—a community, a neighborhood, a block, an organization, a clique—seem to give the student a clearer understanding of the principles of sociology and to develop in him the requisite critical, impartial attitude toward the collection and interpretation of social facts.

While the value of field studies has been widely recognized, the lack of texts which formulate problems and techniques has been a serious handicap. When it was decided in 1924 to use the proposed studies of the natural areas of Chicago[1] as one of the channels for inducting students into sociological research, it was possible to find but scant material which could be put into the hands of students to assist them in the problems which they had to face. This was partly due to the fact that the emphasis was upon the newer case-study method. Books could be obtained concerning the statistical and historical methods, but even these contained few references to the application of these methods to the sociological study of group behavior, or to the techniques for collecting data in the field. It was this situation which led to the preparation of a manual which would pool the experiences of students, staff investigators, and supervisors directing student research. Since 1924 a sufficient number of sociological case studies of the newer type have been completed in this country to

[1] These studies were sponsored by the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago.

afford a heritage of methods, techniques, and typical problems that can be passed on to beginners. The results of my own studies have been supplemented continually by other studies made at the Social Research Laboratory under the direction of Dr. R. E. Park and Dr. E. W. Burgess, and as far as possible they have also been supplemented by discoveries from other research centers. We began with six mimeographed pages, and the volume has grown out of our field experiences, undergoing continual revision as new groups were studied and new methods of procedure were used and the results analyzed.

The case-study method was selected as the central approach for a number of reasons. It was felt that at the present stage of sociological research the minute, exploratory studies of group behavior would disclose new facts. Accurate case studies are also necessary as a prerequisite to statistical investigations, as anyone who has had actual experience in the collection of statistical data can well testify. The case-study method is not new. In fact it is probably the oldest method of sociological research. The "insight" into human activities which pioneer scholars gained by observing the world about them has been one of the chief sources of knowledge; but this old "insight" must be stripped of its mysterious, magical elusiveness. The task of the new case-study method is so clearly and accurately to analyze and define its modes of procedure that they may be communicated from one investigator to another, becoming matters of standard practice.

We have found that a case-study offers the beginning student an opportunity to orient himself, for by studying a single case as a specimen he can obtain a perspective on many of the fundamental processes of social interaction. The study of social groups appeals to students, and the training in the perception and analysis of the essential factors in social behavior is an asset in everyday living. In no other science can the techniques learned in the laboratory be more readily transferred to the solving of problems that continually confront the average person.

The *Manual* is divided into four parts, each one of which is

designed for parallel use with the others. Part I contains a discussion of sociological research and its methods; Part II presents outlines for the study of three types of social groups—a territorial group, an interest group, and an accommodation group; Part III deals with the specific techniques used in making the type studies; and the Appendix presents illustrations of the type studies drawn from student reports, as well as supplementary outlines.

Because of lack of space adequate illustrations have not been included in Part I of the volume, with the result that it is rather difficult reading for a beginning student. But as a file of studies are assembled these can be freely drawn upon to make clearer the principles of research method. And as each student continues with his investigation, the discussions of this section become increasingly significant to him. We have found it most helpful to have students read the case studies in the Appendix first, then select a group, and using one of the type study outlines presented in Part II as a point of departure, consult and discuss Part I, II, and III as questions of method and technique arise in the course of their investigations.

With its wide diversity of cultural life Chicago has indeed proved a fruitful field for research. The basic outline for the study of a territorial group presented in Part II has been molded from research in communities of many types—immigrant colonies of first, second, and third settlement, highly urbanized areas, suburbs, industrial communities, and even rural "patches" still in existence within the frontier of the city where practically all of the working population are engaged in agriculture. The study of institutions and organizations peculiar to each of these different types of social environments has in turn provided the basis for the second set of outlines, the Sociological Study of an Interest Group.

Each of the three type studies or projects for research outlined in Part II has been planned to give the student an opportunity to use various techniques and to carry through a complete problem, from the collection of data to its final analysis and inter-

pretation. An exhibit of material illustrating this procedure has been accumulated at the Social Research Laboratory of the University of Chicago and is at the disposal of anyone interested in the question of student research.

Throughout the researches the effort has been made to relate community and organization studies to sociological theory. This distinguishes them from the older social surveys. The manual outlines were originally keyed to *The Introduction to the Science of Society*, by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, but in order that the volume might have wider usefulness it has also been keyed to: Emory S. Bogardus, *Introduction to Sociology;* Clarence M. Case, *Outline of Introductory Sociology;* Jerome Davis and Harry E. Barnes, *An Introduction to Sociology;* and Hornell Hart, *The Science of Social Relations.*

In directing sociological research it has been found advisable to encourage students to select for study groups with which they already have some connection and which are readily accessible during the time the investigation is being made. If a student already has access to the group the investigation can be carried on quietly and informally, while his familiarity with the group often makes it possible for him to obtain data which an outsider could not secure. Thus campus groups as well as groups of the community in which the college is located may serve as subjects for research.

We have carried on our training in research largely through group discussions and individual conferences. Four or five students observing similar kinds of groups, or groups within the same neighborhood, meet together under the direction of a research assistant or an instructor for round-table discussions, and these discussions are followed by individual conferences.[1] Careful supervision is necessary in order to protect the human laboratory, the community, against students' blunders. This super-

[1] This apprentice system, the linking of beginners and experienced investigators interested in the same problems, has been extensively used by Professor Ellsworth Faris in his classes in social psychology.

vision, in turn, results in a high standard of work and in observations which may make a real contribution. There is a challenge to a student to be engaged in research which is something more than a classroom exercise, and checking has disclosed that some of our best material comes from student investigators.

The main purpose of this *Manual* would be defeated if the outlines and discussions of techniques were treated by students as final crystallizations of research practice to be followed by parrot-like repetitions. We have carefully recorded and edited our findings, and will continue to do so; the results obtained to date are only being published now because of constant requests for outlines and materials. As has been stated before, if the case-study method is to have a place in scientific research its techniques must be made tangible. Experiences must be passed on so that needless floundering and repetition can be avoided, and so that standard tools may be forged. But, of course, the essence of research is the adding of new discoveries; and even in the training of students this goal must be kept foremost. It is in this spirit that the findings accumulated in this volume are presented; as formulations to be compared with similar studies of techniques and to be criticized, analyzed, and enlarged upon by other investigators. Such criticisms, arising out of field experiences, will be eagerly awaited.

VIVIEN M. PALMER

CHICAGO
November 1, 1928

PART I

THE SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION OF SOCIETY

CHAPTER I

THE OBJECTIVES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Everyone has smatterings of knowledge concerning group life. The family, neighborhoods, communities, cliques, and organizations in which we are enmeshed from infancy give each one of us experiences in human associations which include practically the whole range of personal and social relationships. Thus largely through trial and error adjustments to others, as well as more or less haphazard reflections upon our successes and failures, most of us gradually and more or less unwittingly acquire a practical knowledge of group behavior which influences our conduct.

But these common-sense accumulations of information concerning human relations, like the old common-sense conceptions of the physical and biological world, have their limitations. They are founded upon relatively superficial and disconnected observations of experience, while the interpretations derived from them are colored by our individual prejudices and our particular doctrines concerning life. Too often acts based upon them fail to bring the desired results. For this reason scientific investigation is gradually being extended into the realm of group relationships and sociologists are endeavoring to construct a knowledge of group life which is grounded upon exhaustive researches that pierce through common-sense, customary explanations to reach the bed rock of natural laws.

Science has set the goal of impersonal, accurate data, classified on the basis of functional relationships and summarized in scientific laws and theories. Our knowledge of human associations is slowly being transformed by the empirical study of what actually occurs in the different types of human interactions. No one can study current sociology without getting a forecast of discoveries concerning social life which give promise of as revolutionary

changes in the near future as were caused by the researches of medicine during the past generation.

Science has certain clear-cut objectives and modes of procedure which are common to all its branches. It is an axiom that whether the scientist is attempting to construct a system of knowledge concerning heavenly bodies, or plants, or human groups, his underlying purpose and his general mode of attacking his problems are the same. These universal basic characteristics of all science have been abstracted and described so that they may be utilized by a particular branch of human knowledge. A consideration of these essential principles may not only serve as an introduction to sociological research, but may also give criteria for determining whether a given study is scientific or whether a proposed investigation can be expected to yield scientific results.

All science limits itself to discovering and describing accurately the order which already exists in the field which it is studying. No event or fact is entirely unique, and the aim of a science is to (1) classify individual events or facts on the grounds of their common, functional characteristics, and (2) discover the types of relationships which exist between these classes of facts. Our common knowledge of group life makes us sure that there is a natural order in the realm of human relationships. We all know that certain group experiences are repeated again and again in so similar a manner that, for the purpose of science, they may be classified as identical. Each of us makes these rough classifications out of our everyday experiences. In the same way we also know that certain types of behavior or certain situations are followed by certain invariable results. It is this recognition of similarities and behavior sequences which opens the way for the scientific investigation of human associations. If it is to be scientific, however, this investigation must stay within the bounds of determining dispassionately how things actually occur Moral and social judgments have their place in human life, and though scientific facts may be indispensable aids in arriving at correct judgments,

science completes its task when it has made a realistic statement of how social life, good as well as bad, actually takes place.

Any scientific procedure is usually conceived as involving the following steps: (1) the selection and definition of a problem; (2) the collection of data; (3) the classification and analysis of data; and (4) the formulation of scientific generalizations. The histories of the different sciences demonstrate that first one and then another of these steps has received especial emphasis at different stages of their development. As a comparatively new science, sociology's present interpretation of each of these steps will be discussed in some detail to indicate the function of each of these phases of research in contemporary sociological studies.

I. SELECTION AND DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

Since any phenomena can be studied from innumerable angles, the statement of the problem is always made in order to limit the scope of research to workable proportions as well as to define the kind of data which is to be selected from the mass of phenomena which confronts the investigator. The material with which sociology deals, together with its youth as a science, has necessitated outstanding variations from some of the other sciences in this first step of research.

Many of the problems of the physical sciences are stated in terms of definite variables: given A and B, discover the result which ensues from a given variation in A or B, or the introduction of C. This definiteness in stating the problem is partly due to the fact that because of the longer existence of the physical sciences their complex problems have been broken down into smaller and smaller units that can be accurately defined, and it is partly due to the fact that the physical sciences through experimentation are able to isolate elements for study and to control the variables as they are introduced to modify the situation. As a science, sociology strives to approach this goal of exact problems, but at its present stage of development it inevitably stands much behind the physical sciences in this respect.

Many exploratory studies are being undertaken in sociology in which the investigator begins with a definite group, but studies it in as many ramifications as fall within the boundaries of sociology. He examines his problem from all sides until the main lines of research gradually emerge and are in their turn pursued. Exploration is resorted to by (1) scientists in an established field who are making a radical break with an older point of view by discovering new facts and developing new theories; (2) scientists in a new field who are attempting to orient themselves and block out the major divisions of their problem; and (3) beginners who desire to obtain a bird's-eye view of the subject matter of their science by repeating for their own enlightenment discoveries which have been made by experienced investigators. Like an adventurer in new lands, the student engaged in exploratory research must follow many blind trails, make unfruitful excursions in his effort to conquer the unknown, to map pathways through unfamiliar territory. This rough groundwork is also necessary in a science before the significant relationships for more minute studies can be recognized.

In addition to the exploratory studies which consider numerous phases of a given social group, there are many current studies which single out for research a particular process or social situation as it manifests itself in numerous groups. Common-sense analyses of group behavior and statistical studies of social problems often suggest important phases of group life which should be studied.

Probably the smallest proportion of all the sociological studies now under way are designed directly to test hypotheses which have been derived from the existing body of scientific knowledge. This is partly because the sociologist has not as yet been successful in producing at will the exact group behavior which he desires to study, but must begin with groups already in existence. These groups never exhibit a narrowly defined phase of behavior in isolation, and consequently they must be explored in order to make sure that all the important factors entering into the situa-

tion have been taken into account. The exact range of a sociological study is determined to a large extent by the types of behavior which are displayed in the cases investigated. It is the important aspects of the case itself that limits the research to workable proportions. This represents a very different mode of attack from that of the physicist, for instance, who postulates that because certain facts have been discovered certain other facts must ensue, and then constructs an experiment to test the validity of his hypotheses.

II. COLLECTION OF DATA

The observation and collection of facts which are so accurately described that they can also be recognized and verified by other investigators is the second step in research procedure. This array of verifiable facts constitutes the materials out of which the whole superstructure of a science is built.

The first task in the collection of data is the selection of pertinent material. No science attempts to deal with the entire world of phenomena, but selects from it those events which it conceives of as falling within its particular territory. For this reason familiarity with the literature of a science is essential before the investigator can identify the relevant material which belongs within his field of research. Usually the more knowledge an investigator has of the discoveries which others have made, the more significant material he can select, for the broad frame of reference which he has made his own enables him to see with the eyes of many other investigators and to profit by their discoveries. With many schools of sociology in existence at the present time, with many controversial points of view and with numerous theories but few empirically established facts which all are forced to accept, the research worker is almost compelled to make a very simple statement of his basis of selection, a statement which entails little more than the definition of what constitutes sociological phenomena. Equipped with these few basic assumptions he must then explore all these aspects of his cases which fall within the scope of his

sociology as he conceives it. Thus the social reality under study dictates to a large extent the data which are selected.

Science is a social product constructed bit by bit from the discoveries of innumerable investigators, each one of whom stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before, building upon their experience. There are outstanding contributions, it is true, which revolutionize thought, but even these can be traced directly to their sources in previous discoveries. Darwin could scarcely have derived his law of natural selection without the previous work of Malthus and the principles recognized by animal-breeders.

But while the research worker is guided by past discoveries in his selection of facts, he must not be so blinded by them that he cannot uncover new facts. For this reason he constantly searches for negative facts, for behavior which is contrary to that which has been described by previous research workers, as well as for aspects of behavior which others have overlooked.

Observation and experimentation have been the methods used by the physical and biological sciences to collect their data. The social sciences also depend upon observation, but, as stated before, they have met with relatively little success so far in their attempts to construct controlled social situations. Also, human beings are everywhere so continually performing their own experiments in group life that the investigator can always find social experiments of many kinds in progress: a systematic, contemporary, observation of these yields significant facts.

There are two new modes of scientific procedure, however, interviewing and introspection, which have put in their appearance with the newer social sciences. Social research workers can reflect upon their own experiences or discuss with the objects of their research the behavior which is observed. And these two intimate avenues of contact with the phenomena studied constitutes a unique approach, one which is out of the question in other branches of science.

Introspective accounts and accounts obtained from interviews are commonly referred to as "subjective data," and the validity

of their use in scientific studies is frequently challenged. Yet these so-called subjective descriptions of life-experiences reveal indispensable facts about groups which can never be obtained from the observation of overt behavior alone. It is common knowledge that what appears to be similar behavior from the standpoint of the observer is often very different behavior from the standpoint of the individual who has committed the act, and his version, as well as the observer's, is significant both because it gives us insight into the motivation of behavior and because it assists us in recognizing previously unperceived differences in overt behavior. Indeed, the conversation of an individual constitutes part of his overt behavior and can be treated as objective data.

The account which the individual gives of his inner life is sometimes criticized as not being scientific data because it is liable to be either wilfully or unconsciously distorted by personal bias. But the fact is often lost sight of that every scientific observation has its subjective aspects. Every science is, after all, a human product. Psychology has conclusively demonstrated that the personal equation of the investigator enters into all human observation. Each science must devise its own techniques for discovering and discounting as far as possible the influence of its investigators upon their findings. In the physical sciences the use of apparatus has been of great assistance in standardizing observations. Social sciences must resort to other methods, and some of these are described in Part III of this volume, which deals with techniques of research. With the increasing use of subjective materials in studying group behavior, together with the increasing abstraction and definition of concepts contained in the subjective narratives of behavior, the average investigator is becoming more and more skilful in evaluating his data, in securing from it the underlying, depersonalized account which can be duplicated by any other investigator who handles the same material. This tendency is in line with the general, forward march of any science; it is a movement away from individual conceptions toward universally accepted ones.

Sociology undoubtedly has a difficult task to perform in handling data which are colored both by the personality of the investigator and the personality of the subject who gave the information; but the task which confronts it and the other sciences differs in degree, not kind. And every advancement of social science gives us additional guideposts to check the validity of the statements and expurge from them the personal biases which vitiate their significance. Subjective data give us material which we must have, since communication and reflection on behavior is inherent in the nature of man, conditioning his group life; and a growing body of techniques and knowledge of human behavior is enabling us to make these subjective data conform to the spirit of science. Indeed, it does not require a very far stretch of the imagination to conjecture that science, which is after all a social product, may sometime be revolutionized in some of its essential aspects by the discovery of laws of human behavior.

In many of the sciences measurements have been devised to assist the investigator in distinguishing between phenomena and in accurately describing the data which is selected. In sociology statistics have been utilized to give counts of the extent of a phenomenon or of certain of its characteristics. These statistical counts may serve as suggestive indices of social processes, but so far any more direct measurement of the processes themselves have proved elusive. For instance, it is possible to count the number of men, women, and children of given age groups in the population and secure an index of the type of community which they form. Students of population problems have set up a norm, the percentage of persons of each sex and age group which comprise a normal population; and deviations from this norm suggest certain types of groups. For example, a preponderance of males from twenty to thirty-four found in the population is indicative of a pioneer culture, with men at the active age of life competing for jobs, with a marked absence of family life, and with a galaxy of institutions peculiar to the homeless man and a new or transient area. To measure the social processes in that area, however, is a more

difficult task. Through case studies which describe in detail the life which goes on in such an area we are only beginning to get some insight into what are the significant sociological facts. In other words, a discovery of the significant facts through studies of specific cases must precede their exact measurement.

Various branches of science have developed special systems of standards and measurements. And just as physics has established volts and amperes, sociology will undoubtedly evolve new units of measurement especially adapted to its significant data. The recent endeavors of Professor Bogardus to measure social distance and of Professor Kirkpatrick to establish a unit of social values are illustrations of ventures in this direction.

III. ANALYSIS AND CLASSIFICATION OF DATA

Science requires something more, however, than the mere collection of accurate facts. Many social surveys of communities and many social investigations of the problems of modern life have compiled accurate facts and have even compared these findings with similar ones discovered in other communities. But even the comparison of accurate facts can hardly be termed scientific procedure. The inquiry only becomes scientific in character when these facts are so marshaled and arranged that the habitual relationships of behavior which are discovered among them can be disclosed and stated in abstract principles.

In the analysis and classification of data there are three objectives: (1) the sorting of data into categories on the basis of significant resemblances; (2) the discovery of clusters of coexistent factors which occur again and again in similar phenomena; and (3) the discovery of repeated natural sequences in events. The first objective, the determination of classes, extends through the other two objectives also; the scientist is interested in classifying processes and factors into types, as well as in grouping together individual objects which are alike.

Even in our common-sense considerations of experiences we tend to group together those occurrences in which we perceive

similarities, and we make these categories the foundation of our actions. We have learned from frequent encounters to behave in a given manner toward a given object because of the resulting effect upon ourselves, and we tend to act in the same way toward any object which we identify as belonging to this same class. Too often, however, like the man who patted the tiger because it looked like a kitty, we find ourselves in difficulties because we have made our classifications upon external similarities of behavior.

The most immediate value of classification is that it enables the investigator to reduce the numerous cases or instances which he has to consider into a relatively few groupings which can be grasped and manipulated more readily. This decrease in the number of units, of course, marks an important advance toward simplification, which is the ultimate goal of science.

Data can always be classified in a number of different ways. In the youth of a science the classifications are seldom but slightly removed from common-sense groupings; they are usually little more than labels bringing together phenomena which have more obvious, external similarities and they give but little additional insight into the way in which the behavior occurs or the way in which it can be controlled. As the background of knowledge increases and more insight is gained into processes, groupings can be made on a more functional basis, on one which is in accord with the behaving nature of the phenomena studied. Common-sense investigations of immigration, for example, classify most information concerning immigrants according to the more obvious fact, the particular nationality to which each individual belongs. Thus we have large numbers of facts on Poles, Germans, Irish, and all the other nationalities that have migrated to America in any appreciable numbers. Specific, detailed studies of small groups of immigrants, however, are revealing to the sociologist certain fundamental type patterns of interaction which occur repeatedly when a group with one culture comes into contact with a group which has different sets of customs and conceptions of life. The processes of accommodation and assimilation become the underly-

ing themes for sorting facts and interest centers in uncovering the type of factors which retard or accelerate these two processes. The terms Pole, German, or Italian then become significant in so far as they indicate certain specific customs, institutions, or attitudes toward life which researches have disclosed are characteristic of a particular nationality group. For it is these social facts which make it possible to understand many of the conflicts or adjustments which take place between native or foreign groups. But even in the case of the common-sense or political classification care must be exercised. The Italians of northern Italy, for instance, exhibit a different cultural pattern from those of southern Italy, so that from the point of view of sociology the term "Sicilians" carries more specific meaning than the classification "Italians." While these popular categories assist the research worker because they suggest differences in behavior which are ordinarily recognized, the classifications which science finally adopts will be grounded on a more exhaustive study of behavior itself and will cut across nationality lines whenever common patterns of reaction are discovered in a number of groups of different nationalities.

Because group life is a common experience of all individuals, common-sense classifications concerning it are more numerous and probably more deep-seated than in any other branch of human knowledge. The beginner finds it especially difficult to break with his customary conceptions, with his "pet peeves" and prejudices, and analyze his facts in a detached, scientific manner. At the same time, however, this existing background of practical knowledge has its advantages. The common-sense distinctions implied in language usually contain a germ of meaning that is of importance and can be made the point of departure for fruitful research.

In addition to obtaining the more elementary type of classifications which aid in reducing the mass of data to comparatively few categories, the investigator also attempts to discover the constellations and processes which exist among classes of phenomena. Concrete findings are dissected to determine what clusters of

attributes or factors occur together again and again. For these constant groupings of factors suggest the probability of some organic relationship among them of such a nature that the given result would not be produced unless all of these factors were present. Or, the findings may be examined to detect the essential steps in the sequence of events terminating in a given result.

In either case the investigator makes use of any classifications already existing that he finds helpful for his purposes, and abstracts new classifications of factors and processes. These new classifications in turn usually modify some of the categories which he had accepted at the outset of his study. Science advances by finer and finer subclassifications which rest upon differences in behavior; consequently, a study of processes usually yields important new categories.

IV. SCIENTIFIC GENERALIZATIONS

It is almost impossible in actual practice to separate the two steps of analysis and generalization, so swiftly does the investigator pass back and forth between them in his search for new knowledge. Yet in order to understand what really happens in scientific procedure it is necessary to discuss these two processes which have such different objectives. Analysis forms the connecting link between the world of reality represented in the concrete findings of research and the world of science which finds its expression in abstractions, in generalizations concerning the concrete data. And this transition from the actual to the conceptual belongs to reflective thinking, is dependent upon constructive imagination. It is probably the most slippery step in research.

Having devised one scheme and then another for analyzing the concrete material, and having finally ferreted out the classes, the processes, and the interrelated factors which form an underlying design in the data, the task still remains of stating the results in concepts and general laws which square with the reality.

Concepts are the simplest and the first generalizations which are derived. Each new class which has been recognized in the

analysis is given a name, is labeled, while the requirements for membership in it are accurately described. This description of requirements then constitutes the definition of the term. Often the new concept is a commonly used word, but when it becomes a part of the scientific language it is given a more definite and penetrating meaning. Simmel, for instance, raised the commonly used word "stranger" to the level of a sociological concept by giving a more exact and richer meaning, a meaning which he derived from a subtle analysis of what actually occurs in that particular type of human relationship. Concepts may be likened to chemical formulas whose exact specifications must be learned in order that the investigator may come into possession of the contributions made by other people in his field.

A concept devised by one investigator is reported to his fellow-scientists. If it proves to be a valuable tool in assisting others to analyze their data, the new concept comes into more and more use until eventually it is recognized as part of the orthodox terminology of the science. Sometimes a new concept lies dormant for years before its contribution is widely enough acknowledged to secure for it a niche in scientific thought. New discoveries are constantly giving new classifications and new concepts which are more valuable than the older ones because they give more insight into the behavior of phenomena and afford a better basis for control. Each negative case, each concrete instance of behavior which is contrary to that described in some accepted scientific formula, results in a restatement of the theory and a nearer approximation to the facts. It is in this manner that the language of a science which represents its accumulated knowledge is constantly being increased, refined, and revised.

While concepts are formulated to assist the research worker in identifying his facts clearly and accurately, laws are formulated to describe either the interactions which customarily occur between these classes of facts, or the type of relationship which commonly exists between them. When a number of laws can in turn be linked together the resulting generalization is usually known as a scien-

tific theory. In actual practice the broad, scientific theory is often formulated first as a hypothesis, and the various laws and sub-laws which verify it are painstakingly established by a series of more specific researches. Thus these more general theories form a frame of reference, a point of view, for attacking many problems.

In sociology at the present time there are probably more of the broad, theoretical generalizations which suggest lines of attack than there are empirically established laws and sub-laws. The germ theory, for instance, gave an entirely new approach to the problems of disease, but innumerable laws have had to be discovered and will still have to be discovered before diseases resulting from different germs can be controlled. In a similar way the general theory of assimilation or accommodation will have to be developed in greater detail before its application can give us a basis for control over the various types of behavior which fall under these general categories. In other words, these general theories are blanket terms which lend insight, but which cover up significant variations in behavior unless they are simplified by more minute statements of scientific laws.

Science proper is often considered as just this body of abstractions, of concepts, laws, and theories which have been derived to summarize the ways in which phenomena behave.

V. VARIATION IN METHODS AMONG SCIENCES

The foregoing sketch suggests the goals and principles which motivate science wherever it exists. But since every branch of science has its own peculiar phenomena it must devise its own methods and techniques for solving problems. Considerable misunderstanding arises out of the tendency to confuse the particular methods which have been evolved by some of the sciences with the underlying mode of attack of science in general. The method of some of the earlier sciences, especially the physical sciences, have become so closely identified with the term "science" that they are often postulated as the only pathways which can lead to

really scientific knowledge. This blunder lies at the root of most of the criticisms which insist that the facts of social life cannot be treated scientifically.

One frequently hears the statement that sociology is not a science because its findings are not derived from experimentation, or are not reduced to mathematical formulas, or that the complex behavior of human beings cannot be broken down into elements. One need only mention other branches of investigation now recognized as sciences in good standing that do not meet these requirements to demonstrate the error in the charges. Astronomy, the oldest and most completely developed of the sciences, has not as yet been able to experiment with its celestial phenomena. Biology can reduce relatively few of its discoveries to mathematical formulas. And geology must content itself largely by discovering how its phenomena come into being without experimenting with its metamorphic rocks or reducing them to their constituent elements.

As each new branch of knowledge perfects its methods of research so as to insure accurate, uniform results from its investigators, discovers facts and laws, and gives to the world information which insures control over another group of problems, it is gradually, and usually reluctantly, admitted into the fold of science. And the conception of what constitutes scientific method is enlarged in turn with the recognition of each new branch.

The hopeful aspect of sociology at the present time lies in the fact that it is not mechanically taking over the tools of other sciences, but that it is laboriously forging new ones which will enable it to cope more adequately with the phenomena of its own field. It can be guided by the underlying spirit of all scientific methods, but not shackled by the specific requirements of alien realms.

VI. RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIOLOGY TO OTHER STUDIES OF SOCIAL LIFE

One other statement should be added before this general discussion of research is concluded. Man is undoubtedly approach-

ing the problems of social life, and human relationships, in more ways than in the investigation of any other set of problems. From the average man on through a whole array of social reformers, religious leaders, literary men, philosophers, and social scientists we find persons who are vitally engaged in coping with the puzzles that arise out of human interactions. Sociologists are interested in making only a very definite and limited contribution to this widespread search; they are interested solely in formulating the natural laws that underlie group behavior.

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CHAPTER II

THE METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Scientific methods change from time to time as a division of knowledge develops, and just now three outstanding methods are being utilized in sociological research: (1) the case-study method, (2) the historical method, and (3) the statistical method. This volume deals primarily with the application of the first of these procedures, the case study, to certain selected types of social groups. But the purposes and the pathways followed by each of these three are summarized here in order to indicate their relationship to each other as well as the distinctive contributions which each makes to the building of sociological knowledge.

I. CASE-STUDY METHOD

The term "case study" is commonly used to describe two different types of investigation: (1) in its broader sense it is considered as an all-inclusive study of an individual case in which the investigator brings to focus upon it all his various skills and methods of research; and (2) in a narrower sense it is conceived as a distinct method of research, a limited stage in the investigation of a research problem in which the investigator makes an exhaustive study of a case as an interacting whole, but confines himself to descriptive statements of the results. It is this second, restricted meaning of the word that is the subject of the theoretical discussion of this section. In carrying on studies of social groups, however, the case-study method is seldom used entirely. For instance, while the emphasis in the type studies outlined in Part II of this volume is upon the case-study method, the historical and statistical methods are used to some extent.

In the case-study or monographic method, as it is sometimes called, research centers upon the intensive investigation of the relationships and processes inherent in a single case. The

investigator selects a group, or some broad phase of a group's behavior, as his problem and painstakingly scrutinizes it from as many different angles as possible, tracking down first one clue and then another in the effort to penetrate more deeply into the various facts involved. Fundamental to the case-study method is the effort to view the different aspects of the problem as an organic, interrelated whole. The meaning of each factor is sought in terms of its relationship to other factors and in terms of its relationship to the results which are observed, for it is recognized that it is the study of factors as integral parts of different social situations, and not the study of these factors in isolation, that leads to the understanding of group behavior. It is from this very complete description of what actually happens that the investigator is able to extract the vital processes which make the group what it is, and from this analysis, in turn, to infer new canons that govern collective action.

The case study may also be utilized as the stage in research which co-ordinates the findings of other social sciences with those of sociology. In this comprehensive investigation of a small segment the research worker is often led into the overlapping territory of history, political science, economics, human geography, or social psychology.

So much time must be spent in the microscopic examination of social groups that it is only possible to investigate a limited number of cases in this thoroughgoing manner. Once a new relationship has been discovered by means of a case study, however, it can be singled out for extensive research. Numerous instances can be examined to determine the presence or absence of this one set of factors, and statistical methods of enumeration, and possibly measurement, may be applied to find the extent of the phenomenon and to define it numerically.

The justification of the expenditure of so much time on a single case is based on two facts; first, it is only through exhaustive studies that new relationships and processes can be discovered or described accurately; and second, every individual case has char-

acteristics which may be regarded as typical or representative of a large number of cases.[1] It is a common observation that any case has three important characteristics: (1) characteristics which are common to every individual in the species to which it belongs, (2) variations of these common attributes which are characteristic of groups within the species, and (3) still other characteristics which belong uniquely to the individual and distinguish it from every other individual within the species. Science is always interested in characteristics of the first two types, and it is attempting to reduce more and more of the individual variations to categories that pertain to the species or to classes within the species. Class differences are but variations of the common characteristics of the species, and individual variations, with the exception of freak mutations, are in turn but a variation of class characteristics. No two individuals are of course exactly alike, but science assumes that individual characteristics vary so slightly from some scientific category that the individual or a specific attribute of an individual may be treated as though it coincided with the definition of some class.

Since individual characteristics are but variations of the fundamental, common attributes of a species, each case may be assumed tentatively to display the common qualities of the species and may be treated as a specimen. For instance, in selecting for study any human association which might be commonly called a social group, it may be assumed that it is the result of certain basic relationships and processes which are found to a greater or less degree in all groups. It is for this reason that the study of a case is of such value to the beginner in social research. Under adequate direction he can conduct his investigation of a group in such a way as to secure an understanding of the underlying processes of group life, much as a medical student dissects his cadaver to discover the universal, fundamental functions of different parts of the human body.

[1] This discussion of the use of a case as a specimen is adapted from a mimeographed statement by Dr. E. W. Burgess.

After a case study has been completed its findings must be compared with those secured through a similar study of another case. As a result of the comparison the new case may prove to be (1) another case of the same class, (2) a negative case, or (3) a marginal case. The last two types of incidents are especially valuable inasmuch as they point the way either toward new generalizations or toward more adequate descriptions of previous ones. They indicate variations in the characteristics of processes that are common to many social groups.

A negative case, one which displays behavior that differs markedly from that discovered in a previous case or is contrary to that described in some generally accepted theory, serves as a point of departure for another investigation. This exceptional, previously undiscovered behavior creates a new problem which must be solved by further research, and usually results in a more accurate definition of a concept or a statement of some scientific law. A marginal occurrence, one which does not quite exhibit the same essentials that have been described in other events, accentuates the identifying marks of the previous cases and leads to a refinement of class definitions It often indicates also a new form of behavior which will become increasingly prevalent, and enables one to see it in its inception.

Since the principal aim in the case study method is to probe systematically into as many aspects of a given situation as is possible, it is usually employed in the early, exploratory stages of research. Its chief value is in the assistance which it gives in uncovering in considerable detail certain processes or certain movements in a process which have hitherto remained obscure.

II. HISTORICAL METHOD

The historical method might be considered as one type of the case-study method, inasmuch as it, too, deals with social situations as organic, interrelated wholes and is interested in obtaining information concerning the sequences of events, or social changes. But history has dealt especially with past events as these are

recorded in documents, while case studies undoubtedly secure their most accurate and reliable data from the direct observation and investigation of contemporary events. Also, the group of scholars who develop history and those who concern themselves with sociology have different ultimate objectives which have resulted in significant differences in the methods and techniques of the two types of research.

Sociology and history have a common meeting ground: both are interested in the changes which occur in human societies during a period of time. History, however, is interested in depicting these changes vividly, in re-creating the past as accurately as possible, while sociology is interested in discovering in this accurate account of social changes the sequences of behavior which cause social processes. History is interested in each unique event as it actually occurred in time and place, while sociology's aim is to abstract from these individual events the laws and principles of social interaction, irrespective of time and place.

Sociology utilizes historical method in two ways: (1) indirectly, through materials which competent historians have compiled, and (2) directly, through the use of the historical method in compiling natural history documents for its own use.

The advocates of synthetic history who are rebelling against the old stereotyped textbook history based on military and political affairs are constructing as comprehensive a picture of the life of a period as the sources of information will permit. These newer historical narratives enable the sociologist to view the broad sweep of social changes which have taken place in different groups down through many centuries, and from this array he can derive pointers as to the underlying principles of group behavior.

But there are limitations to the sociological use of even the best of these historical narratives. The modern historian uses the generalizations of psychology, sociology, and political science to assist him in judging the significance or relationships of the various historical facts out of which he endeavors to reconstruct the past; but because of the infancy of these sciences the historian

must still be guided largely by a priori or common-sense conceptions of group behavior in selecting his data and arranging them in a sequence of cause and effect. Also his necessary reliance upon old documents written by people who looked at the world without the glasses of modern science make it inevitable that many facts of the past which are significant from the standpoint of sociology have not been recorded and cannot now with accuracy be read back into the old sources. The sociologist will have to turn to the direct investigation of contemporary group processes in order to be sure of the minute information concerning social interaction from which to infer his social laws. He will have to base much of his ground work of theoretical knowledge also upon small groups close at hand which it is possible to encompass with research, rather than upon the study of national groups whose behavior is too complex for accurate sociological investigation at the present stage of our skill.

Those documentary sources of the historian, especially letters, diaries, and autobiographies, which give glimpses into the intimate experiences of people and express their real attitudes, probably afford the sociologist more profitable material than the final, reconstructed historical narrative. The emphasis in sociology is upon processes, and historical records which give detailed accounts of "the becoming," the development of an event, are the most useful.

Historical monographs such as *London in the Eighteenth Century*, by Dorothy M. George, in which a small section of human life definitely bounded in time and place is subjected to an intensive, all-around study are another valuable type of material for sociology. Perhaps the synthetic historian who is dealing with current events and attempting to assemble as complete an account as possible of an incident which has recently occurred collects the most relevant data for social science purposes.

The social research worker must often make use of the historical method in carrying on his concrete studies of selected groups. For in order to understand the contemporary behavior of a group

it is necessary to have some knowledge of the previous experiences in which the present is rooted. Social life is a continual, ongoing process, and though it must be broken up into segments in order that it may be studied each of these parts is intimately connected with those that precede or follow. Most of these past experiences which still influence a group can be traced back through the reminiscences of the oldest living members, with the result that the investigator can himself prepare the necessary historical documents directly from their sources. By supervising the compilation of the documents through interviews with these old participants the investigator is able to dig out a natural history narrative that meets his needs, one which describes in detail what actually did happen and what interactions took place. Then, after comparing the document secured, he can return again and again to his informants to check points of discrepancy until he is satisfied that his data are accurate as well as adequate for his needs.

Historians have made a distinct contribution to method in the standards which they have set for the criticism of documents. In their classic volume, *The Introduction to the Study of History*, Langlois and Seignobos state the principles for the external and internal criticism of documents. Research workers dependent upon documentary material find these principles indispensable as guides in evaluating data. They also assist the research worker in estimating the value of his interviews. Social psychology will eventually give us laws upon the basis of which these tenets of criticism can be refined; but until these laws have been formulated the suggestions of Langlois and Seignobos remain an outstanding contribution.

The sociologist also brings his understanding of group behavior to bear upon testing his historical data. A knowledge of the laws of group life assists him in detecting gaps and discrepancies in material as well as in evaluating conflicting evidence or weighing the relative importance of various details. Eventually the body of scientific data of the sociologist, and that accumulated by the social psychologist, will be so definitely formulated that it

can be placed at the disposal of historians to be incorporated into their technique of criticism.

III. STATISTICAL METHOD

The statistical method is outstandingly different from the case and historical methods in that its major emphasis is upon the extensive enumeration and measurement of certain selected attributes found in a large number of cases rather than upon the intensive study of all the interrelated processes displayed by a single case. Another important difference is found in the fact that the data of statistics are expressed numerically or graphically, while those of the other two methods are expressed descriptively. The sociologist uses statistical counts and measurements for four purposes: (1) to discover the extent of selected attributes by counting their occurrences; (2) to discover trends by comparing enumerations which are made at intervals; (3) to compare the distribution of selected types of cases by localities; and (4) to measure the frequency with which given attributes are found to occur in constellations in a given case.

The enumeration of a given phenomenon or attribute in order to determine its extent is the elementary form of statistical procedure. The unit to be counted is defined, a large number of cases are examined to discover whether or not they possess this trait, and the results are then enumerated. Usually the inquiry is made with respect to a number of attributes which are recognized commonly as being associated with the phenomenon and are popularly postulated as "causes." Thus, juvenile delinquency is studied by counting the total number of cases, by counting the number of cases in (1) different nationality groups, (2) in homes broken by divorce or desertion, (3) among children employed, (4) among children in school, (5) among boys, (6) among girls, and so on. Whenever the findings of a case study are reported, the question always arises, "Is this case like others, is it typical, or is it unusual?" A frequency enumeration is designed to answer the query.

Quantities of this type of statistical data are being compiled constantly by governmental departments and social and civic agencies, but the fact that the attributes which are selected as the basic units are defined in common-sense terms limits the value of these statistics for sociological research. If the sociologist desired to study juvenile delinquency these statistical figures suggest where he might turn to locate his cases as well as indicate the many different types of groups from which he should select cases as representative in order to make comparisons. The figures would also lead him to speculate concerning different angles of his problem. If 30 per cent of the delinquents were of one nationality and 5 per cent of another, for example, he would want to discover whether there was some difference in the cultural patterns of the groups and their adjustments to American life which contributed to this difference in the behavior of their children. Or again, if a high percentage of the delinquents came from broken homes he would want to obtain much more intimate pictures of those interactions which occurred among the members of disorganized families that influenced the behavior of the delinquents.

After securing what assistance he could from the statistical figures he would then make exhaustive case studies to determine the influence of group factors in the given instance. He would be interested in obtaining from observations, from members of the child's various groups, and especially from the child's own story, a picture of the social attitudes of the group, the child's rôle in it, and the influences which it exerted in defining the child's habits of action. Physiological, psychological, and social psychological factors would also have to be taken account of in a thoroughgoing study of the individual, but the sociologist's interest would center upon the group influences, factors which are so often ignored.

The findings of the sociologist in such a case would be expressed in different categories from those used in most statistical studies of delinquency, for they would be stated in terms of group processes for instance, in terms of customs, folkways, mores, attitudes, or social control rather than in common-sense, formal attributes.

If a given factor in the sociological discovery could be easily identified did it exist in other cases, this factor could then be made a new unit in a statistical inquiry. Case studies discover and define the units of study; statistics begin with the acceptance of these units.

Statistical studies which have been made at intervals may be compared in order to determine trends and to make predictions concerning the direction in which social problems tend to move. Figures for the years 1900, 1910, and 1920, for instance, may show that in each succeeding decade a larger percentage of the total number of delinquents are girls. This fact would be significant, for it indicates social change. But, like all the statistical facts, it does not reveal as complete an account as the sociologist is interested in obtaining. He may speculate as to whether changes in the girl's status in the family group, changes in the attitudes of the community toward girls, the increased mobility of girls, or a number of other factors have influenced this increase. The statistics will suggest an interesting problem for analysis, but individual cases of girl delinquents will have to be studied in minute detail in order to decide what changes are really taking place which might account for the growth of delinquency.

The third use of statistical method is in finding the distribution of cases by locality. Figures may show that the male juvenile delinquency rate of a city is 60–70 per cent per 1,000 of the male population of juvenile delinquency age. If the residences of those delinquents are spotted on a map it will be found that large clusters of them will appear in some sections of the city, while other sections will have no cases at all; the rates of delinquency will vary for each section, though the high rates of some areas and the low rates of others will cancel each other when the lump figure is presented for the city as a whole. This localized picture of delinquency in the city is of far more service to sociologists than a numerical statement for the city as a whole, as it assists him in breaking his problem into parts and obtaining a truer picture of the actual social environments in which delinquency occurs. Control of the problem of delinquency depends

upon this more exact knowledge of different types of groups in which delinquents develop.

In the studies of Chicago the city was divided into eighty natural areas, maps were made to show the distribution of a number of different kinds of social phenomena, and the cases which fell within each area were counted and rated. Table I, showing the

TABLE I

	Rate per Thousand of the Population				
	I Apartment House Area	II Industrial Area	III Area of Contrasts	IV Residential Area	V Immigrant Area
Suicide	.11	.17	.33	1.2	.14
Poverty	.50	2.35	6.67	1.54	3.79
Contributors to charity	1.78	0	1.14	.09	.03
Delinquent girls	.19	3.4	.3	.17	.35
Distinguished persons	5.36	0	0	.18	.02

ratings with respect to some of the social phenomena for five of these local areas, indicates the wide difference in the social environment of each of these areas and the value of localizing statistical facts. From this table it is also possible to secure some indication of the combination of factors within any one area.[1]

[1] The following brief description may be given of each of the areas listed:

Area I: A residential area which has just undergone transition from an area of single dwellings to apartments. It also contains a university community.

Area II: A small industrial neighborhood at the extreme border of the city. For many years it has been isolated from the rest of the town by poor transportation facilities, and the city is only now growing out to it. With little trained leadership, it has managed its own problems for years with little interference or aid from social or civic agencies. It has a cosmopolitan, lower middle-class population.

Area III: An area of striking contrasts, with the wealthiest residential section of the city, a rooming-house area, and a group of small colonies of Southern European and Near East immigrants in close proximity and pressing in upon one another.

Area IV: An old, established, conservative, middle-class community just beginning to be disintegrated by the outward expansion of the city. A newer population of lower economic status is trickling in and the older residents who have built the community over a period of thirty to forty years are rapidly moving to newer residential areas farther out.

Area V: An old immigrant area, containing colonies of both first and second settlement. Poles predominate, though there are also colonies of Italians and Russian Jews.

The statistician uses coefficients of correlation in order to determine with what frequency given attributes occur together in the same case. He may, for instance, compute the coefficient of correlation which exists between delinquency and desertion. If he obtains a high degree of correlation, an indication that in a large number of families in which delinquency occurs desertion is also found, the result would suggest one of three things: (1) a causal relationship between delinquency and desertion; (2) a dependence of both delinquency and desertion upon the same underlying factors; (3) simply a chance, unrelated coincidence of the two phenomena. Again the case study method must be applied in order to determine which one of these theories is plausible. Correlations are of great assistance in pointing out possible relationships between phenomena and in measuring the frequency of that relationship in a large number of cases, though again the investigation must be carried farther.

Statistics, expressed as they are in numbers, carry with them a sense of exactness and finality which is convincing to the average person. They are a distinct aid also in attaining the exact statement of social facts that are demanded in a science. And yet danger lurks in the ease with which inaccurate facts regarding behavior may be given the appearance of extreme correctness through the use of numbers. This is not an argument against the statistical method itself, but rather a caution against the improper or careless use of it. If the unit which is counted has some intrinsic relationship to the behavior which is being studied, if it can be defined so precisely that its presence or absence in cases can be identified readily, then statistical treatment adds to the utility of the discovery.

IV. RELATIONSHIP OF THE DIFFERENT METHODS

Like a golfer with his bag of sticks the investigator selects first one implement and then another in his drive toward the goal. Each implement has its specific use, with its manifest limitations,

so the ultimate success depends upon both the selection and the skilful use of the right implement at each stage of the game. Each instrument is superior in its own sphere, and the variety of the problems encountered demands the interchanging use of first one and then another tool to insure the highest returns.

This sequence of transition from one method to another in sociological research is difficult to summarize, inasmuch as it varies from one problem to another. The use of the different methods thus far employed in the investigation of group life might be schematized somewhat as follows:

First, the study of existing statistics, historical narratives, and descriptive accounts that have any bearing whatever on the subject. This existing material will consist of (*a*) common-sense statements and (*b*) reports by other research workers.

Second, a preliminary use of the case-study method to explore at first hand the various aspects of the problem and decide upon its more important aspects.

Third, the historical approach to secure a picture of the past of the group, of those traditions and customs which were generated in it and which still influence the present.

Fourth, the application of the case-study method, an exhaustive investigation of recent and contemporary behavior to formulate concepts and laws that describe the processes and the interrelationships of factors.

Fifth, the use of statistical method to express more accurately those findings of the case-study method which can be handled numerically: the extent to which the case occurs, the frequency with which certain identified factors are found in combination, the measurement of the degree of some attribute, or the change in statistical measurement over any period of time. The success with which the case study method has unearthed the salient facts in concrete events determines to a large extent the degree to which the various refinements of statistical method should be carried in adding accuracy to these results.

V. TECHNIQUES OF RESEARCH

Techniques, ways of skilfully and efficiently handling problems in so standardized a manner that they can be communicated from one investigator to another, are necessary in connection with each one of the three methods of sociological research. Volumes are available concerning statistical techniques, and certainly the mathematical phases of them have been standardized and elaborated. Historical techniques have also received attention, with the result that many of them have been formulated clearly. The case-study method is still in the process of being raised to the status of a scientific approach, with the result that though widely used in both the everyday and the semi-scientific inquiries into social life, it is only recently acquiring a set of specific procedures that adds the precision necessary for scientific work. It is because of this fact, as well as because the case-study approach gives the beginner the most intimate contact with social reality, that this method has been chosen as the center of emphasis, and Part III has been limited to those techniques which are needed in making a case study. Some of these tools of case study are also basic to the historical and statistical methods. Some of them apply, for instance, to the field investigations in which statistical data are collected, and this is another reason why they are being given so much attention. Both the statistical and the historical approaches are also used in the type studies of Part II, but in these instances references are given to discussions of techniques which can be found in other volumes.

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CHAPTER III

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

I. THEIR FUNCTION

Before presenting the outlines of typical case studies it is necessary to indicate the sociological assumptions or points of view which underlie the proposed research problems. For there are so many definitions of sociology at the present time, so many conceptions as to what should be the center of emphasis as well as the limits of the field, that sociological problems can be formulated in surprisingly different ways. The adherents of the various schools of sociology have written textbooks which discuss at length these numerous approaches to their subject, and this task of describing the field rightly belongs to textbooks and not to a manual of research. Nevertheless, in order that the problems for research may be understood in their fuller implications they have to be prefaced by a statement of the particular sociological point of view which lies back of them. What is meant by the term "sociology," and consequently what constitutes the data of sociological research, molds both the studies and the techniques of investigation.

II. CONCEPTION OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGICAL DATA

The following assumptions concerning sociology were accepted in planning the three type studies which are described in Part II:

1. Sociology is defined as the science of group behavior. The interest focuses upon discovering the natural laws and principles which underlie collective behavior. Hence it concerns itself with the *interactions* and *processes* of human associations. It is assumed that variations in processes and interactions produce variations in group life, and that what these variations are and

how they are produced in turn constitutes the specific problems for research. How group life occurs and is carried on is the problem which must be described and analyzed. Thus a wide variety of groups—boys' gangs, political organizations, neighborhoods, sects, church societies, mobs, crowds—may be examined to extract the common *group* characteristics which develop out of any social interaction in any sphere of human activity, and the *variations* in these *common* attributes.

2. Behavior may be conceived of as occurring in a chain of events linked together in a series of cause and effects. The sociologist breaks into the on-going activity of a group at a given point, and analyzes it in cross-section to discover the factors and relationships which have produced the behavior. By selecting a number of successive points in the stream of the activity for a similar cross-section analysis and then comparing the factors, relationships, and results at each point, the sociologist then infers the process. Figuratively speaking, each link in the chain is studied for its interactions, and a section of the chain containing a number of connected links is analyzed to discover the process.

3. As a science, sociology bases its conclusions upon a thoroughgoing study of actual cases of group behavior. Its hypotheses must be relevant to the observed behavior, and its laws and generalizations must be verified by discoveries of what really occurs in group life. Careful, specific observation of the interactions which are found in different kinds of groups supply the data out of which the sociology is constructed.

4. A science grows pragmatically as newly discovered facts are added little by little and its laws and concepts are restated to take into account these additional facts. In this process of natural growth each science passes through various stages at which one phase or another of scientific procedure must be emphasized. Just now it seems as though the case study method can yield much of value to the progress of sociology. But it is also necessary that the case study method be lifted from the "anecdotal" or "insight" level, and that communicable techniques be

evolved so that the results obtained by one person may be compared with those obtained by another.

5. The following kinds of data can be used in sociological research: (*a*) Observation of a group in action. One can attend a meeting, for instance, and observe what its leader does, what the overt reactions of the members are, what discussions take place, and what the group actually does before it reaches consensus and either accepts or rejects the plan proposed by the leader. (*b*) The investigator can get accounts of group behavior from individuals who have either observed it or participated in it when he himself has not had first-hand contact with the event. This secondary material must, of course, be criticized and evaluated carefully. (*c*) Similar to the data just described is that received from records. If the material has been reduced to writing soon after the event which it describes occurs it is of more value than if considerable time elapses between the event and the record which is made of it. (*d*) The attitudes of the members of the group can be obtained from conversations or autobiographical documents—from their expressions or descriptions of their own behavior.

Every attitude is authentic from the sociologists' point of view, though the statement expressing the attitude may be erroneous. For instance, persons of nationality A in a given community may believe and state that members of nationality B are a "shiftless, ambitionless lot." Investigation may disclose, however, that these people have records of steady work, are buying their own homes, and gradually raising their standards of living, though these standards may still fall below those of nationality A. While it is essential to establish the "truth" about nationality B, it is equally valuable to discover the attitude of group A toward group B, as this attitude is also a "fact" for the sociologist as it is undoubtedly a potent force in shaping the life of the community and in creating a social distance between groups A and B.

Since attitudes of individuals are largely the product of group experiences, the sociologist may discover in personal attitudes those characteristics which are representative of the groups to

which the individuals belong. By comparing these supposedly representative attitudes of a number of people from the same group it is possible to eliminate the personal equation. And by comparing the representative attitudes of each group of which a person is a member with those of the individual it is usually possible to account for the so-called individual attitudes which are the result of the conflict and subsequent modification of the prevailing attitude of two or more groups.

The individual's account of his inner behavior is often referred to as subjective data. And yet, as Cooley and others have pointed out, the individual's *expression* of this inner attitude through speech is as much a part of the objective data of research as his physical movements. It can be observed objectively by any number of investigators. Statistical data pertaining to observable behavior is another source of sociological material. Its use has been described on pages 26–30.

6. Inasmuch as personal data is relied upon in the study of *group* behavior, a brief statement is necessary as to the assumptions underlying personality. One aspect of every individual is the modification of his original inheritance through his interactions with other people. If he grows up in a Chinese group, his attitudes are different than if he were raised in an English group. And in a similar way, if he grows up as an only child in a family he is a different personality than if he were raised in a large family of children. In other words, an individual is a member of many different groups during his lifetime, and each of these modifies his behavior. It is this group experience which forms the meeting ground between social psychology and sociology. In the former, stress is laid upon the influence of the group upon personality; in the latter, it is laid upon the behavior of the group itself.

The value of the basic assumptions in sociology must be tested by the assistance which they give in analyzing and interpreting group behavior. Accepting tentatively the principles which have just been summarized, the next task is to apply them to the study of concrete instances of group activity in order to discover what returns they will yield.

PART II

TYPE-STUDY OUTLINES

CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE AND USE OF TYPE STUDIES

I. BASIS OF SELECTION OF TYPE STUDIES

A glance at human society readily discloses the fact that the greater part of human associations take place within the limits of relatively small groups. Modern means of transportation and communication have increased contacts between the members of widely distant groups, and the world-wide interdependence of modern times makes social events which occur in almost any part of the inhabited world set into motion a chain of effects which manifest themselves in remote groups. But the more intimate contacts of life, the day-by-day contacts with relatives, friends, acquaintances, and opponents are still confined for the most part to people who live within the same local area. When one attempts to break human society into its elementary, functional units, two types of groups immediately present themselves: (1) territorial or habitation groups, associations of people who live together; and (2) interest groups, associations of people who come together to satisfy certain common interests. In the United States, communities, neighborhoods, and colonies are common names for the first type of group, while clubs, organizations, associations, gangs, and leagues are examples of the voluntary or interest groups. These two basic forms of associations have been made the subject of type studies through which fundamental aspects of human associations and social processes may be investigated.

A third type of group has also been selected for a type study. One can hardly analyze the group life in any section of the United States without coming into touch with settlements of immigrants. These colonies can be analyzed as territorial groups, and the organizations of one kind and another which are found within them

can be analyzed as interest groups. But the colonies are bits of transplanted culture which stand out in marked contrast to the prevailing life of the land, and in the attempts which their members make to adjust themselves to new conditions and in the cultural modifications which ensue, a vivid picture is presented of the process of accommodation. For this reason a third type study has been added, the Type Study of an Immigrant Group, an Accommodation Group. These three type studies by no means exhaust the possibilities of sociological research. They merely offer an introduction to the case study of social phenomena, an opportunity to observe closely three fundamental types of groups and discover their outstanding attributes, the nature of the processes and interactions which take place within them, knitting together their members.

In actual practice a group is selected for study because of a number of local factors. Areas in which students live, which they know, or in which they have become interested generally yield the more profitable studies. Sometimes a community will ask to be studied, or sometimes a social problem will force attention to a particular locality. In any case the area selected should be readily accessible to the investigators so that they may make frequent first-hand observations and contacts. This necessity for having a social research laboratory close at hand also means that a relatively restricted territory around a college will have to be studied again and again, and that the greatest care must be taken to preserve the good will and the confidence of people within the area. The human laboratory must be protected by a careful supervision of the research work against the explosions which can so readily grow out of the errors of inexperienced investigators.

II. SOURCE OF THE TYPE STUDY

Each type study was compiled from the investigation of a large number of groups. The original outlines were made from the study of texts, by turning the hypotheses and principles concerning group life into questions and suggestions for research. The

outlines were used in the study of a wide variety of groups of each of the three types and revised again and again until composite outlines were obtained which seemed applicable to the study of any territorial, interest, or immigrant accommodation group. These composite outlines indicate the more common, universal processes and interactions which take place in each type of group. It is for this reason that the term "type" study has been used.

III. USE OF TYPE-STUDY OUTLINES

The type study is divided into a number of sections, each one of which suggests a line of research which may be pursued over a period of time. One phase of a given group may be studied intensively by a research worker; several research workers may collaborate in studying different phases of the same group; research data collected by one worker may later be checked by another who repeats the investigation; or one research worker may complete the entire study of a given group. The number of years the group has been in existence, the size of the group, the range of its activities, and the amount of time which the research worker can spend on the investigation will be factors in determining how the outline will be used.

Students will find it profitable to select groups for study with which they are already associated, as their background of experiences and knowledge will greatly facilitate the investigation. And the opportunity to study objectively a group with which they are already familiar will illustrate vividly the difference between the common-sense and the sociological approach.

Each type study has been arranged to give the investigator contact with a number of different phases of group life and to give him an opportunity to use different sociological research techniques. The problems have also been arranged within each type study in the order of their difficulty. Provision is made, for instance, to handle that phase of the subject first which involves interviewing old settlers, for they usually have leisure, enjoy reminiscing, and are relatively easy to meet. The study of existing

documents and map-making is required before interviewing, as some background or acquaintance with the group is a prerequisite to a successful interview with one of its members. Any rearrangement of the outlines should take into account this sequence in techniques and the theoretical sequence of the sociological textbook which the manual is used to supplement. It is not possible, of course, to follow the logical order of the outlines exactly, as each person gives data on many aspects of a study during the course of any one interview.

Each section of the type study contains: (1) a statement of the problem, (2) text references to theoretical discussions of this phase of the study, (3) references to the techniques which are to be used, (4) suggestions as to the type of material to be collected, (5) suggestions as to sources from which the data are to be secured.

The techniques referred to in each part of the type study are discussed in Part III of this volume. The chapters on techniques are offered as points of departure to assist the investigator in perfecting his own skill in collecting and handling research data, and these chapters on techniques should be studied throughout the investigation.

Under the heading of "Case Description" each section of the type study contains paragraphs of questions which indicate the kind of material which is pertinent to the investigation. These questions are not to be treated as questionnaires and be taken into the field to be answered one by one; they should be studied by the research worker before he goes into the field. The questions are offered to initiate reflective thinking concerning the group under observation, to raise issues, and to start trains of thought. It has been found advisable to have groups of investigators who are following the same type study meet with an experienced research worker and discuss thoroughly the implications and possibilities of the problem presented in each unit of the type study before they undertake to collect the data concerning this phase of group life. After the data have been collected the group can meet again to discuss the problems which they encountered in the field and

the results which they obtained. The underlying method in all the investigations is that of the exploratory, case-study approach. Each group considered will present phenomena and problems which are peculiarly its own, and first one and then another phase of the type studies will have to be elaborated in order to distil the essence of each group. This exploratory emphasis should never be lost by the slavish following of questions contained in the outlines. Research is never routine and mechanical; the investigator must always be alert to find new facts, must be open-minded, and must exercise initiative in dealing with his immediate problems.

The material presented on techniques, and the type study outlines are to be freely discussed and criticized. Each research worker's experience and the study of every group should suggest some revisions and additions to this manual. These discoveries should be made part of a permanent record for the benefit of future investigators.

IV. FOURFOLD OBJECTIVE OF TYPE STUDIES

Four divergent objectives can be harmonized in carrying on sociological investigations such as are outlined in these type studies: (1) the data gathered can be treated scientifically; (2) it can be assembled in a central fund for civic use; (3) contributions can be made to techniques and methods; and (4) students can be given unusual advantages through the opportunity to participate in significant research.

There is no reason why student research cannot be directed toward securing reliable, worth-while facts, facts which can be accumulated and checked until they constitute a genuine contribution to sociological knowledge. We have so few accurate, minute records of observed group behavior that such a record almost inevitably adds something new to the body of sociological materials. The high standards of work necessary to produce results of this quality can only be obtained through a correspondingly high standard of student training. So it works out that the two goals of accumulating valuable research data and of training stu-

dents reinforce each other, greatly to the advantage of each. Anyone finds more incentive, a real challenge, in working on problems that are something more than mental exercises, in making studies which may become part of a permanent archive. In such an undertaking each participant may be sure of making some addition to the existing data, and also of improving his own technique for dealing with human relationships. Students who are permanent residents of the areas which they investigate can become consultants concerning it, assisting other students to make contacts and keeping the central laboratory informed of important developments. In the Chicago studies it has not been uncommon to have students voluntarily render this service for a number of years after they have completed their university work. They have become interested in the problem; they know their area perhaps better than anyone else in it; and they are trained to recognize pertinent material.

The body of information which is gradually built up concerning an area will be of value also as a constant source of reference for civic leaders who need authentic and thoroughgoing information concerning trends and problems in the social life with which they are attempting to cope. The department of sociology that looks upon its community as a laboratory for social research and systematically studies its environment can as a matter of course render a real service to the community in which it is situated. College work can be vitally co-ordinated with the world about the campus.

CHAPTER II

TYPE STUDY NO. 1: THE SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY OF A NATURAL TERRITORIAL GROUP

INTRODUCTION

I. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

The sociological survey of a territorial group is both an especially fitting introduction to the field of sociology and an essential preface to further research. No study affords a better introduction to the study of society than this first-hand survey of a given area, for through it one can see vividly many social processes in their various relationships and obtain concrete illustrations of the different aspects of social phenomena that textbooks discuss theoretically. And as a preface to many intensive researches, the survey is equally important. The territorial group constitutes the social environment within which numerous other groups exist, so an understanding of it is indispensable preparation for most sociological case studies. The particular interactions and processes revealed by a survey must be isolated for more minute investigation and analysis, but it is also necessary to view each process in its broader setting and to secure this general view of the whole fabric of group relationships. Such a survey gives a panorama of the social environment, a fitting background to a variety of the special problems which are created by human associations.

The sociological survey is equally valuable as an introduction to techniques of research. Most of the varied techniques which have been developed in sociological research must be employed in making a survey, with the result that the relative merits, the peculiar contributions, and the limitations of the different tools of research are demonstrated.

II. SOCIAL SURVEY AND THE SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

Two types of studies, the well-established social survey and the much newer sociological survey, are so often confused that it is necessary at the outset to discuss their similarities and differences.

The social survey gradually emerged as an orderly and systematic inventory of a political area—a town, a city, or a village—an inventory made for the purpose of determining the outstanding problems and planning a constructive program of social reform. It became the social engineer's means of diagnosis, and it usually included the educational aspect of "informing the public," through conferences, lectures, and exhibits, of the existing conditions, together with the steps which should be taken to improve them. This attempt to study conditions before dealing with them was a marked contribution to social work, an outstanding factor in placing it upon a professional basis.

The sociological survey can be conveniently described by contrasting it with its predecessor, the social survey. Inasmuch as both types of surveys deal with a common phenomenon, society, they often shade into one another in actual practice, but their centers of interest are fundamentally different, and the difference can be stated simply. Both types of surveys are identical in their attempt to give a general, synthetic, exploratory picture of their respective fields. But the field of social work is practical reform and amelioration, while the field of sociology is the scientific discovery of how human societies function. And these widely different objectives give rise to as equally divergent types of surveys.

Core differences between the objectives of the two types of surveys might be stated somewhat as follows:

1. Pathological conditions are usually the center of interest in the social survey. But some of the existing twists and inaccuracies in general social theory are undoubtedly due to generalizations which have been based solely upon the study of pathological conditions. The sociological survey is as much concerned with normal

phenomena as with pathological phenomena, and must explore both types of processes to obtain balanced, proportionate results.

2. The immediate necessity for formulating a social program, on the one hand, and the disinterested attempt to formulate social laws, on the other, has also led to important differences between the social survey and the sociological survey. Unburdened of the necessity for formulating a social program, the sociologist has no particular points to prove; nor is he under pressure to relieve some crucial situation. He is therefore free to make an unpartisan, unhurried study of social phenomena, the kind of study that can lead to discoveries of scientific caliber.

3. Professor Giddings has defined two fundamental types of survey: "the pattern survey," which deals with "action patterns as they appear at a given moment," and "the variability survey," which deals with "changes in form and action patterns."[1] The social survey has emphasized the first type, and under pressure of ameliorating conditions has barely skimmed the second type of survey, resorting to common-sense judgments as to what would change the discovered conditions. The sociological survey, on the other hand, is the "variability survey," for its problem is to explore social processes.

4. The social survey is interested primarily in the situation in a given community. It compares, more or less systematically, similar and dissimilar conditions in other communities, but its emphasis is always on a given community. The sociological survey, on the other hand, selects concrete communities for preliminary study, but it is interested in comparing a number of communities and abstracting social processes and patterns for more intensive study rather than in studying a particular community as such. The social survey practically constitutes research in its field; the sociological survey is only an introduction to sociological research.

Though the respective fields and objectives of the two types of surveys may be clearly defined, in actual practice they are

[1] Franklin Henry Giddings, *The Scientific Study of Human Society*, p. 184.

often confused, due to the following factors: (1) The common phenomenon, society, with which they deal. (2) The increasing attempt of social workers to carry on their task scientifically has led to a confusion of attempts to formulate laws of social practice with attempts to formulate laws of social activity. (3) This last factor has been further complicated by the fact that in many fields sociologists have not yet formulated laws of human behavior, and in their attempt to treat their cases scientifically social workers have stepped aside to supply the missing laws of human behavior.

The social survey has been widely used and is well standardized. In the beginning stages of sociology, any available data concerning social groups were valuable, and the material gathered in social surveys was often the most systematic and reliable that could be secured. But many sociologists still persist in utilizing the social survey as an introduction to their own field of research, and it is this persistence which constitutes one of the stagnant backwaters in sociological research at the present time. As has been shown, the differences in these two types of investigation are so deeply rooted that their content and their methods are correspondingly different. The sociologist cannot blindly pattern his survey on the social survey, but must develop his own type of research to meet his own particular needs.[1]

III. PROBLEM OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

The sociological survey of a territorial group is a trail blazer into the realm of human relationships. Concretely, it is an attempt to obtain a sympathetic and keen insight into the life which is going on in a given area, as well as into the forces which have made the area what it is. Its goal is to penetrate deeply beneath the surface, to put one's fingers on the actual pulse of the community in order to obtain a realistic, accurate, and detailed read-

[1] The difference between the social survey and the sociological survey can be seen readily by comparing the outlines for the former as presented in Carol Aronovici, *The Social Survey*, with the outline of the Study of a Territorial Group presented in this volume.

ing of existing relationships, together with the changes which they have undergone. Scientifically, it is an attempt to define problems for research, and to abstract from the concrete data the patterns of social organization together with the processes which have produced them.

These objectives might be more explicity stated as follows:

1. To accumulate a mass of documentary and statistical data concerning a local area. This concrete material will in itself be of interest to social and civic workers in the area. Systematically arranged and organized, it can be used as a frame of reference for more intensive, specialized sociological studies.

2. To discover and list important sociological problems requiring more intensive study, orienting these problems with respect to the entire life of the group.

3. To interrelate the sociological aspects of the area with border-line fields—for example, geography, economics, and political science. There are many forces outside of the realm of strictly sociological inquiry which nevertheless must be taken into account in explaining the social superstructure, and the information which these fields have accumulated must be brought into focus with the sociological data.

4. To interpret the data scientifically, comparing it with findings concerning other territorial groups. To test existing hypotheses and to formulate new ones. To contribute to an understanding of the patterns of social organization and the forces which create them.

IV. UNIT OF A SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

The term "survey" has two different meanings in social investigation. Originally it was used in a limited, technical sense to apply to an inclusive, introductory study of the various aspects of a given community; later it was used to designate an exploratory investigation of some one organization or problem, as, for instance, "A Survey of the Fourth Avenue Church," or "A Survey of Juvenile Delinquency." The principal contributions of the sur-

vey, however, seem to have come from its attempt to obtain a composite picture of many interrelated phases of community life at a given time, and social investigators made an effort to have the term restricted to this kind of study.

In accordance with the helpful distinctions of early investigators, the name "sociological survey" is limited here to studies which take as their unit the community, or, in a more exact sense, a natural territorial group, and explore its total life.

As a basic fact in social life, as well as a readily accessible project for investigation, the territorial group has proved its importance. A glance over human associations discloses two types of social groups: those that have a clearly defined basis, and those that do not. A community, a neighborhood, a colony, or a town are examples of the first type of group, while an interest group like the International Association for Peace is an example of the second type. Both of these groups are the concern of sociologists. It is true that with the increase of facilities for transportation and other forms of communication, non-localized interest groups are becoming more and more significant and individuals are traveling long distances by means of automobiles, trains, steamships, aeroplanes, radios, and the printed page to associate with kindred spirits, to share common experiences, and to exert their influence upon one another. But it is still true that the great mass of people do have a relatively permanent physical habitat and that their interactions with people nearby constitute a major part of group activity. The territorial group is still a reality, an outstanding one for most people.

The fact that the territorial group can be limited definitely in space makes it both tangible and readily accessible to the investigator. A given locality has specific geographical designations which enable other research workers to find and examine it in order to verify data. The social groups which are created in a given geographical area and are the special concern of the sociologist are much more difficult to locate, but once they have been bounded their existence can be made clearer by reference to their geographical location.

There are many different kinds of territorial groups which might be selected as a basis for the study of social phenomena. We are accustomed to think of groups as defined by governmental boundaries, towns, cities, counties, countries, wards, etc., and most of the social surveys have dealt with the smaller governmental units. But sociologists have been awakened to a realization that these areas usually do not constitute a single, homogeneous social group, but that they may be broken up into a number of smaller interacting groups, some of which have a definite territorial basis. It was from such widely different sources as anthropology and biology that sociologists received their clues as to the significance of natural areas, and hence of natural political and natural cultural areas.

Students of plant and animal science added a whole new realm of knowledge when they conceived the idea of studying plants and animals in their natural habitat, instead of examining individual specimens in isolation. Through plant and animal ecology, as the new branch of research was called, they studied plant and animal communities. They found that there was a natural ordering in the array of different plants and animals which were formed in a given area at a given time, that there was a natural sequence of change by which one group of plants and animals succeeded another in a given area, and that the interplay of a number of widely different forces of the physical environment and the groups of animal and plant life were responsible for this succession.

Anthropologists, securing their data here and there over the world, were impressed with the fact that culture is regional, that it is found in patches over the earth's surface, and that individual cultural processes and traits are parts of cultural complexes which have to be studied with reference to their regional background.

To the sociologist the concept of "natural area" has proved just as fruitful a unit of study. A natural social area is one which can be definitely isolated from the surrounding territory because it is "a world in itself," characterized by a peculiar type of customs, traditions, or social organizations. Three types of natural areas are found in modern life: (1) a cultural area, one in

which the interaction and the resulting solidarity of the group arise out of a common cultural background; (2) a political area, one composed of people with varied cultural backgrounds who accommodate to one another sufficiently to co-operate in attaining certain specific common goals; (3) a marginal or interstitial area lying between cultural and political ones, which either is not yet organized socially or is in the process of disintegration. These definitions are, of course, conceptual statements of different types. Actual social areas are either variations of one and another of these types, or combinations of two, and sometimes the three, types. And during a period of years a given section of a community will change from one type of an area to another.

The investigator looking over the modern city saw it as an aggregate of numerous areas, of workingmen's neighborhoods, apartment-house areas, immigrant colonies, etc.; in other words, as a collectivity of many small territorial units, each one of which constitutes a distinct social group within the larger governmental area of the city and hence must be studied as a separate entity. Sociologists studying rural districts, on the other hand, found so intimate a relationship between the market or town and the scattered farms which were tributary to it that they were forced to extend the limits of their natural unit beyond the corporate boundaries of the town in order to obtain the real unit of interaction.

Thus, starting with the governmental unit, the investigator is sometimes forced to extend it geographically and sometimes forced to break it up into small sections in order to approximate the actual way in which social life operates. The resulting cultural and political areas of social interaction become the units of sociological surveys.

V. GENERAL PLAN OF THE STUDY

It has been found convenient to divide the sociological survey of a territorial group into the following assignments:

1. The collection and classification of existing data.
2. First impressions of the governmental area.

3. The determination of ecological areas.

4. The determination of social areas, cultural, political, and marginal groups.

5. The natural history of each social area.

6. The natural history of the governmental area.

7. Contemporary study of each social area[1].

8. The documentation, analysis, and interpretation of data.

Each of these problems is dealt with in the "Outlines for the Study of a Territorial Group," which follow. The investigation cannot, of course, be conducted in rigid compartments. The results of the intensive study of the local areas in Assignment 7 will modify the tentative boundaries secured from the studies made in Assignments 3–4. Hypotheses concerning social processes and social organization will be constantly drawn upon throughout the study to suggest lines of investigation and to check data secured. But a systematic check of findings with hypotheses deserves especial emphasis as the final stage of the study, Assignment 8.

The thorough study of a number of cultural areas within a selected political unit usually requires the co-operation of a number of persons over a considerable period of time. This necessitates complete record-keeping and the constant pooling and checking of data on each cultural area in order to avoid needless duplication and insure each person picking up the study at the point where his predecessor has left it.

Frequent conferences between all persons engaged on the study at a given time, as well as frequent examination of each other's data, are also essential to the progress of the study. Also, a single problem sheet or assignment may be worked out through the co-operation of a number of students.

[1] Throughout this volume the terms "natural social area," "social area," "natural territorial group," and "territorial group," are used synonomously to designate that unit of society which arises out of the interactions and common life of people who live in close proximity to each other. The basic concept is *natural area;* "social" is used to differentiate this unit from other types of natural areas (as a natural topographical area), and "territorial" is used to distinguish it from an "interest" grouping.

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ASSIGNMENT 1[1]

COLLECTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF EXISTING DATA

PROBLEM: A territorially defined governmental group—a town, a ward, a city, a county—is selected tentatively for study, and the initial problem is:

a) To become familiar with the existing data concerning the governmental area selected for study.

b) To prepare an annotated bibliography of the existing data.

c) To begin a file of abstracts and excerpts of the more significant data contained in the records.

COLLECTION OF DATA: There are existing data concerning every governmental area which is invaluable to the sociologist; reading widely all material available upon an area is a necessary introduction to a more intensive study.

Much of this material, especially that contained in official reports and investigations, gives only formal, conventional statements which do not present an intimate account of events or of social processes as they have actually run their course. But these formal statements often suggest significant events about which the sociologist must collect more intimate first-hand data. And they usually yield two important kinds of clues: (1) the names of people or groups of people directly connected with the events, and hence prospective subjects for interviews; and (2) the accurate dates of events, which are usually important as marking milestones in a slow-moving social process. Careful records should be made of all such clues.

Inasmuch as one of the first problems is to break the governmental area into its constituent natural social areas, especial note should be taken of any data concerning some particular place or section within the governmental area, of local names which are applied to sections within it, and of the

[1] For illustration of this assignment see pp. 213–17.

boundaries which various organizations set as the limits of the territory within which they function.

This preliminary study is a more or less cursory perusal of as much data as possible, in order to secure a general orientation with respect to the area and to gather clues as to problems and sources for further investigation. The principal sources of existing data on a given community are usually the following:

a) *Official investigations.* Material complied by governmental departments: federal, city, state, country, village, township reports. Most statistical data is compiled by governmental investigation: data on population, mortality, morbidity, industry, business, education, crime, delinquency, etc.

b) *Unofficial investigations.* Reports compiled by civic and social agencies, social surveys, special investigations; annual reports of charity and welfare organizations; case records of organizations.

c) *Newspapers.* Current numbers, as well as back files, contain much raw material. Sooner or later a systematic study of newspaper files will be essential for the study.

d) *Local histories.*

e) *Articles in magazines and periodicals.* These usually feature some unique, interesting aspect of the communities.

f) *Miscellaneous manuscripts.* Documents written by old settlers concerning pioneer days; papers on local matters prepared by members of women's clubs.

g) *Directories.*

h) *Maps.* Geological maps, maps of land divisions and ownership, and old maps showing the area at different periods are valuable.

Classification of Data: The classification used in sorting and filing this material will grow naturally out of the data collected and will have to be subdivided and enlarged as the study proceeds. It should include at least the following main headings.

Many more classifications will suggest themselves as the data grows:

A. *Bibliography.*
B. *Sources* (names of persons to be interviewed).
C. *History* (of the entire area), subdivided by periods and outstanding events.
D. *Organizations.*
E. *Local areas.*
F. *Suggestions for further study.*
G. *Unclassified* (to be classified as the bulk of material on any one phenomenon accumulates).

RECORD OF DATA: It has been found valuable to use slips of paper of uniform size and of different colors to designate: (1) bibliographical references, (2) excerpts and abstracts, (3) first-hand observations of the investigator, (4) information obtained from interviews, and (5) original comments and suggestions of the investigator. These slips can be readily sorted and resorted as the investigation progresses and arranged in the most valuable way. Before commencing this cursory review of the literature it would be valuable to read through all of the outlines for Type Study No. 1 in order to get a clearer understanding of the kind of material which is of value and the different lines of approach which will be utilized in making the study.

ASSIGNMENT 2

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF THE GOVERNMENTAL AREA

PROBLEM:

a) To obtain a general impression of the governmental area, such an impression as can be obtained by walking about the area and observing its more obvious characteristics.

b) To observe differences in characteristics in various sections of the area, differences which might suggest the existence of natural areas.

c) To list sources that might prove useful for further study.

d) To locate on a "work map" the more important features of the area: public buildings, highways, industries, characteristic types of residences.

This "first impression" study is designed for students who are studying an area with which they are not familiar. For students who are already familiar with a given area, another type of study is offered (cf. p. 63, Alternative Study).

TECHNIQUES:

Observation (cf. pp. 161–67).

Diary (cf. pp. 180–84).

CASE DESCRIPTION: The suggestions listed below are to be studied thoroughly before going into the field. They are not to be carried into the field and answered question by question. They merely suggest the point of view and indicate the more outstanding characteristics of the area which is to be observed.

The real objective is to browse about the area, to become familiar with it, to "get the feel of it," and in this exploration to discover as many facts as possible concerning it.

A. *Physical environment.*

1. What are the most striking characteristics of the physical environment? Note topographical features—rivers, valleys, hills, ridges, swamps, physical structures—roads, tracks of steam and electric railways, types of residences, industries, public buildings and parks.

Do the topographic features seem to divide the area into natural areas? Does there seem to be any significant relationship between the topographical features and the physical structures which man has reared upon them, i.e., do the railroad lines follow the contour of the hills? Are the mansions clustered on the hills and the shacks at the edges of swamps?

Does there seem to be any significant relationship between the different types of physical structures, i.e., industries and railroads, railroads and tenements, boulevards and mansions, etc.?

2. What does the present condition of the area indicate concerning its status? Notice condition and repair of buildings, open spaces, vacant lots, lawns and gardens, industrial property. Is there any striking variation in conditions in different sections of the area?
3. What does the physical environment reveal about the history of the community? Note dates on public buildings, types of architecture, condition of repair. Is there any evidence that certain sections of the area were settled before others? Are there any evidences of changes in the use of dwellings, i.e., single homes converted into rooming-houses, stores converted into dwellings, churches converted into factories and warehouses? Are these changes localized in certain sections?

B. *Centers of community life.*

1. Where are the trading centers located? What business institutions do they contain? Is there evidence that any one of these centers dominate? What are the principal transportation channels which bring people to the trading center?
2. Where are the recreational centers located? Parks, playgrounds, community houses, churches, theaters, dance halls, lodge halls, poolrooms, clubhouses. Posters concerning meetings, lectures, entertainments, etc. Groups

of people coming and going from centers. Do children play in the streets, in yards, or in vacant spaces?

3. Where are the religious institutions located? What are they? Give brief descriptions.
4. Where are the educational institutions located? (Location of all these institutions can be checked by reference to directories.)

C. *The people of the community.*

1. What is the economic status of the people? Notice grade of dress, food displayed in stores, ownership of automobiles, type of houses. Do some sections of the community seem to be wealthier than others?
2. What are the occupations of the people? What opportunities are there for employment within the area; in adjacent areas?
3. What indications do you find of the type of home life? Notice types of dwellings—single houses, apartments, rooming-houses. Are there many restaurants? Are people working about their homes, yards, and gardens? Do you see family groups on street, on porches?
4. What type of behavior do you see between adults? Do they seem to know each other? Stop on the street to chat? What is their attitude to you as a stranger? Do they watch you, or do they seem accustomed to seeing strangers? Do the tradespeople seem to know their customers and talk with them? Are there street crowds? What seem to be their interests?
5. Are there foreign nationality groups within the area? Notice names on stores, offices; language spoken in the streets; foreign newspapers sold; dress; food displayed in stores; institutions peculiar to certain nationality groups, i.e., Greek coffee shops. Do these nationality groups seem to be segregated in specific areas?

D. *Other data.*

1. Are there any other distinctive features of your area?
2. What are the strongest impressions which you carried away with you?
3. List sources for further study of the area: names and addresses of institutions; real estate men, prominent professional men, clergymen, civic leaders.

Record your observations in diary form, giving a narrative of your experience.

ALTERNATIVE STUDY: For those students who already know the area they are to study, another paper is suggested to take the place of this one. Read over all the outlines to get a general picture of the type of material pertinent to a sociological survey, and then write a paper on your area, giving the important aspects of it as you see them and suggesting problems for study and sources available.

ASSIGNMENT 3

DETERMINATION OF ECOLOGICAL AREAS[1]

PROBLEM: In the introduction to this study attention was called to the fact that there are a number of different kinds of natural territorial areas or habitats—territorial areas within which a given type of phenomena is found, and to which it seems to belong as a matter of course. The sociologist is interested ultimately in the natural social area, but some of the other types of natural areas have an intimate relationship to the natural social groupings. Experience has shown that one of these, the ecological area, is indispensable in understanding the social unit, and also that it is a halfway step in defining it.[2] The ecological area is the product of: (1) the natural physical environment, the topography of the land; (2) the physical structures—roads, transportation routes, various types of buildings, etc., which man has added to the landscape; and (3) the economic organization—the trade centers, the usage, and the price of land. These are the basic forces which determine the grouping of people in modern society, sifting and sorting them into different types of areas. Ecology is thus the meeting ground of geography, especially human geography, and economics; but it deals with only one phase of these two sciences, with that phase which studies the economic and geographic factors which affect the distribution and segregation of population.

The problem is to discover the different ecological areas which exist within the town or other governmental area which is being investigated. A list of the types of maps useful in determining ecological areas is given. Some of these maps will be available; others will have to be plotted. When a number have been completed they can be compared and studied.

[1] For illustration of this assignment see pp. 222–23.

[2] It is suggested that both this problem sheet and the next one dealing with the determination of social areas be read before any of the work is undertaken, inasmuch as the two problems are so closely interrelated.

REFERENCES: Brunhes, Jean, *Human Geography; The Urban Community*, edited by E. W. Burgess, pp. 167–82; Case, Clarence M., *Outline of Introductory Sociology*, pp. 106–28; Davis, Jerome, and Barnes, Elmer, *An Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 191–304; Galpin, Charles J., *The Anatomy of an Agricultural Community;* Hayes, Edward C., *Introduction to the Study of Society*, pp. 29–41; Mukerjee, Radhakamal, *Regional Sociology*, chaps. vi, xv; Park, Robert E., and Burgess E. W., *Introduction to the Study of Society*, pp. 161–225.

TECHNIQUES:

Social research maps (see pp. 185–91).

TYPES OF MAPS: The following maps, chosen from a series prepared under the direction of Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess in the studies of Chicago, are of especial value in determining the location of the ecological areas. If the same base is used for all maps of a locality it will be possible to trace the different natural areas discovered on to a final, summary map, and from a study of it determine the natural social areas to be used for the investigation.

A. *Topographical map.* This map, usually already in existence, shows the natural geographic features of an area—hills, valleys, swamps, mountain, streams. These natural features are generally the pioneer force in determining the location of different types of human habitats. But their influence is constantly being modified by man's increasing control over nature. To cite one of many possible examples: pioneer cabins were built in the shadow of hills, but with improved methods for heating, comfortable houses can now be built on the top of the hill in full exposure to the elements. An examination of the topographical map suggests natural geographical locations for settlements at the present time, or in the past.

B. *Physical structure map.* Upon this topographical base, and more or less in conformity to it, man has erected physical

structures. These features of the landscape, more than the original topographical conditions, affect the location of different types of settlements within an area. The most important physical structures to be located are as follows: roads (distinguishing the highways and main arteries), bridges, railroads, electric lines, railroad yards, industrial property, and parks. These are more or less permanent structures and, as they cross and recross, divide the area into natural sections. There are usually maps already in existence which show these physical structures, but any missing factors, as for instance bridges, should be added.

The comparison of the topographical map and the physical structure map show many facts from which interesting inferences can be drawn. For instance, it will often explain why railroads are located where they are, or why highways take the courses they do.

An examination of the physical structure map reveals the existence of "natural pockets," sections of the area separated from the adjoining section by structural barriers —railroad tracks, highways, or a river. These physical barriers are significant because they impede communication between different sections, and hence break the social life of the area into segments. Physical structures also facilitate communication. Many of these structures which act as barriers within the area itself connect the area with far-distant sections of the country, and this communication affects the section as a whole. Others, like bridges, facilitate local communication and break through local barriers at points. A study of the map should indicate local natural areas based on the physical structure and structures of communication between these different local areas.

C. *Building map.* Another type of physical structure map, but one which for convenience can be handled apart from that described previously, is a map which shows the distribution of different types of buildings over a given

area. Apartment areas, areas of cottages, areas of mansions, areas of bungalows, and sites of public buildings suggest this type of natural groupings. Areas so defined are significant also as indices of different types of social life.

Where zoning and other restrictions on the usage of property already exists it is possible readily to secure data needed in plotting this map. Public buildings, churches, schools, etc., suggest centers of various natural groups. Where such data is not available, the information secured on the "First Impressions" tour can be used as a point of departure, and another tour of the area be made to locate the different centers of the community.[1]

D. *Map of business centers.* In 1916 Professor Galpin defined a rural community by (1) selecting a trading center, (2) locating on the map those farm homes which did most of their trading at the center, and (3) bounding the community by connecting those homes farthest from the center on all the roads radiating from it.

But, as pointed out by Professor Sanderson and others, there are other community centers whose location and territory of influence do not coincide with the business center and its territory, and the natural areas of these other centers must also be taken into consideration before a rural community can be defined.

The location of business centers and the definition of areas tributary to them is, however, one of the important factors which breaks a governmental area into its natural divisions.

In cities, mapping the points of highest land values is one of the simplest methods of locating the dominant trading centers. The territory over which its business houses distribute handbills, the area within which the stores deliver, and the territory of the newspaper in which the

[1] Maps prepared by insurance companies and known as "insurance maps" give buildings and the types of buildings in every lot.

business houses advertise are other methods of determining the natural areas of important business centers.

The territory of small neighborhood shopping areas, however, cannot be located in this manner. They must be determined by interviews with storekeepers and residents of the neighborhood. Usually local barriers, as for instance railroad tracks and boulevards, which children are not encouraged to cross, determine these sub-business areas.

E. *Map of land values.* A map which shows areas of different land values will be another basis for determining natural divisions. In some places published land values are available, i.e., Olcott's *Land Values of Chicago.* Real estate men will give rough estimates of the range of land values in different neighborhoods and sections, and these can be classified into two or three significant divisions. In areas where great variation in land values exist, minute statistical methods have been utilized.

But in this preliminary mapping of different types of phenomena to determine natural areas, rough indications of areas of high, low, and medium land values will suffice. Real estate figures, advertising data giving sale prices, and listings of real estate men will usually give the desired material. Variations in rentals in different areas is another possible basis for determining natural areas.

Natural areas formed by land values are usually vivid indices of natural groups. People are sorted into areas by the amount of money which they can expend on the ownership or rental of their homes, and these areas of different economic status usually have significant variation in social life.

INTERPRETATION OF MAPS: From a study of the foregoing maps it will be seen readily that the governmental area is split up by physical barriers into a number of local areas with distinctive physical characteristics. Each of these areas has a different dominant land usage; it is used mainly or exclusively as a

high-class residential district, a slum, a manufacturing district, a bungalow area, a suburb, a farming section, and so on. Economic forces determine to a large extent the usage, and set the land values. It is a well-known fact that each of the ecological areas attract a different social group, that people living on farms have a different régime of life than people living in wealthy residential districts in a town, and that this different life finds expression in a whole complex of different attitudes and ways of behaving.

From an inspection of the maps it will be possible to divide the area tentatively into ecological areas. Then, from a more intensive sociological survey of each area, it will be possible to verify these tentative divisions by discovering whether the ecological boundaries cut across social organization and segregate the social groups. This more intensive check is provided for in the remainder of the study.

ASSIGNMENT 4[1]

DETERMINATION OF NATURAL SOCIAL AREAS: CULTURAL, POLITICAL, AND MARGINAL GROUPS

PROBLEM: As has been stated, the sociologist is most interested in the social areas, the natural social groupings which exist in small patches over the land. He begins his study with the governmental unit (a town, city, county) because it is already defined and because the existing data is generally classified on this basis. But most governmental units will be found to consist of a number of neighborhoods, communities, racial groups, foreign colonies, and other groupings, each one of which may be treated as an elementary unit for sociological research. Social processes do not operate uniformly through the entire governmental area, even when that area is only a small one. Therefore it is necessary to break it up into its natural areas of social interaction.

Three types of natural units of social interaction have been found among territorial groups: (1) cultural areas, (2) political areas, and (3) marginal or interstitial areas.[2] The problem is to discover the different social areas within the governmental unit and to classify them into significant types.

TECHNIQUES:

Map-making (see 185–91).

REFERENCES: Bogardus, Emory S., *Introduction to Sociology* (revised), pp. 204–380; *The Urban Community*, edited by E. W. Burgess, pp. 219–33; Case, Clarence M., *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, pp. 449–80, 516–33; Davis, Jerome, and Barnes, Harry E., *An Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 540–56; Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Social Relations*, pp. 124–45; Wissler, Clark, *Man and Culture*.

[1] For illustration of this assignment see pp. 218–27.

[2] Professor Frederic Thrasher gave significance to the use of the term "interstitial areas" in *The Gang*.

SUGGESTIONS:

A. *Cultural areas.* A committee appointed last year by the Social Science Research Council adopted the following definition of a cultural area:

> A culture area may be defined as a region or area having certain definite characteristics or elements of culture—both material and non-material—which distinguish it from other areas. Such an area appears to have a nucleus or center in which the characteristic traits are most emphasized and from which they radiate out with diminishing strength. . . . .
>
> Once established, the area shows marked conservation and resistance to change. However, ideals and articles of material culture do diffuse, and one of the most important results of the culture area is to see what is done with the material accepted or rejected. The results of the melting of cultures on their margin, or weakest points, are likewise of significance.[1]

This definition applies especially to the larger cultural areas of the world—Eskimo cultural area, Euro-American, Indo-European, and so on. But the concept is also a useful one to apply to the study of the smaller patches of culture which are found within the boundaries of a few square miles. A city in this country, for instance, has many different cultural areas within its limits: (1) nationality areas, (2) racial areas, and (3) areas which display discernible variation in the prevalent culture of the United States—hobo groups, rooming-house groups, "gold coast" groups, and so on.

1. *Nationality maps.* Social groups transplanted from the Old World are among the most easily recognized cultural groups in this country. For immigrants of the same homeland tend to colonize in certain sections of a region where their complex of customs and institutions forms a separate social environment. Groups with foreign cultural backgrounds are usually known by reputa-

[1] *Social Research Bulletin*, No. 7, p. 3, published by the Society for Social Research, University of Chicago.

tion, but they may be more exactly located through the following types of maps:

a) *Maps showing nationality distribution.* By spotting the residences of people of different nationalities upon a map, using a different colored dot for each nationality, and then drawing closed curves about the dots, using a corresponding color for the lines inclosing each set of dots, it is possible to get an indication of the present location of each nationality group and an indication from scattered dots as to the direction from which the group has come and the direction in which the group is moving.

The residences of members for spotting may be obtained from (1) public records containing the nationality, as for instance birth or death records, court records; (2) social and civic agency records; (3) public directories and telephone directories; (4) lists of the membership of various clubs and organizations which are known to be composed of persons of a given nationality, as a German club or a Polish building and loan association.

b) Maps showing the location of characteristic institutions of a given nationality, as coffee houses of the Greeks, *turnvereins* of the Germans, *sokols* of the Bohemians, and so on.

c) Maps showing the distribution of certain cultural traits which are displayed by a given nationality group—a peculiar type of dwelling, garden plots, type of fences, home furnishings, or variations in the prevailing American types of dress, as for instance wearing a shawl as head dress. The more obvious cultural traits of a group, those which can be readily ascertained and plotted at the outset of a study, are usually some material trait. The sociologist is interested, of course, in discovering peculiarities in social

life in non-material traits but these material differences assist in locating the group for more intensive study.

2. *Racial maps.* Racial groups are closely allied to nationality groups in displaying readily noticeable cultural characteristics. In this country Negroes and Indians constitute the two large racial groups who are of native birth and hence not classified also as nationality groups. These two types of groups may be identified by a similar type of map to that used in discovering nationality groupings.
3. *Maps of subcultural groups.* Subcultural groups which display variations in the prevailing culture of the land are much more difficult to discover. Investigations seem to disclose, however, that there are certain basic differences in people's mode of life which lead to clear-cut variations in their customs, attitudes, and behavior patterns. Deep-seated modifications seem to arise out of differences in occupations, economic status, or religious affiliations, and these may be detected roughly through the following maps:
   a) Maps showing the residences of people by their occupations. Life is outstandingly different, for instance, for the farmer and the tradesman, and the régime which each follows leads to a whole array of cultural variations. In the cities, where the division of labor is much more marked, people of the same type of occupation tend to segregate into different areas: the hobo or migratory worker is found in one neighborhood, the factory worker in another, the magnates of business in a third, and the "white collar clerks" in still other areas. In *The Hobo*, by Nels Anderson, the unusual cultural deviation of one of these groups is portrayed in a striking manner.

      Classified telephone directories, city directories,

polling lists, lists of different industries, etc., give data as to occupations and residences which can be plotted. Again colored dots can be used, one color for each type of occupation. And again, once the different groups are located, case studies can be made to get a more intimate picture of the forces and processes which produce the variations.

b) Maps showing the residences of people by their economic status. If it is possible to secure personal tax or income tax data, these can be plotted. Or poverty areas may be discovered by plotting the residences of cases which come to local charity and civic agencies.[1]

c) Maps of land values and rents suggested in the previous section (p. 68) also give some indication of the division of the area on the basis of economic status.

d) Maps showing different types of dwellings (see pp. 66–67) are also significant, for it can be assumed, from a common-sense knowledge of life, that the social milieu of people who live in bungalow, in hotel, in apartment, or in tenement areas differs in many essentials.

e) Maps showing the location of religious institutions and the distribution of residences of their members generally show another cultural schism. Religion is often an indication of a whole constellation of attitudes and behavior patterns which result in a unique group life. A Mennonite church, a New England church, a synagogue, may each indicate a cultural type which constitutes a social unit. Sometimes these religious groups appear as interest groups, with their members sprinkled throughout a community

[1] A map showing the residences of poverty cases and contributors to the United Charities was one of the first maps prepared under the direction of Professor Robert E. Park in the series of social maps on Chicago.

and their influence confined almost entirely to the religious life of their members. And at other times they may appear as distinct territorial groups, settled about their church. In the latter case they are likely to form a more definite cultural unit with a complex of characteristic behavior patterns. Maps spotting the residences of members show whether the religious group is also a distinct territorial group.

f) Maps showing different periods of architecture. Sometimes the old residents of a community will live segregated in one section, and, with their background of traditions and years of common experiences, will form a close group set apart from newcomers to the area. The age and type of buildings will sometimes give clues as to the existence of such a group.

Cultural areas are usually designated by irregular and changing boundaries. They can never be marked off either by exact or straight continuous lines like those which are drawn arbitrarily to define governmental units. And yet the rough approximations obtained by mapping social phenomena give the research worker much assistance in finding the cultural areas which are the significant units for intensive case studies.

B. *Political areas.* Cultural areas, areas in which people have common traditions back of them, common beliefs and attitudes toward life, common folkways and mores, common ways of doing things, are areas in which the interpenetration of one person's life into another's, the intimate communication of experiences, creates a strong group solidarity and a social organization arising out of primary contact and informal social control. But people with diverse cultural backgrounds, people who do not share a common social environment, often co-operate with one another in order to get certain things done which are wanted by the entire

group. In such groups individuals must adjust or accommodate their differences in so far as these differences tend to conflict and impede the attainment of common goals. This situation results in a natural social grouping in which people are held together for certain administrative purposes. Such a group has been called a political group, using the term in the broader sense of the word. Political groups vary from governmental groups in that there is always a natural basis of interaction in the former, while the latter may be merely an artificial creation and the people who live within the area may not participate in common enterprises.

Territorial political groups are of two kinds: (1) groups which include a number of smaller cultural areas which have banded together for certain purposes, and (2) groups which form an elementary unit in themselves.

For instance, a Lithuanian group and a Polish group living adjacent to one another and forming two distinct cultural groups may co-operate in a business men's association, a church, a building and loan association, an improvement club, and several other organizations which are of mutual benefit. In this case the political area is a larger unit embracing the two cultural areas, and the common social life of the political area as well as the distinct life of each cultural area are objects for sociological research.

An illustration of the second kind of political area, the one which forms an elementary unit in itself, is a small, cosmopolitan area composed of people with different nationality, economic, and religious backgrounds whose main interactions as a group are confined to local organizations which deal with a few problems of general concern.

The following maps suggest ways of discovering political groups in cities or towns, especially:

1. *Maps showing, within a small territorial space, considerable variation in social phenomena.* If any of the maps

which have been suggested previously show a cosmopolitan grouping of people, differences in economic status, or differences in religious affiliations within a relatively small area, one may expect it to be either a political area or a marginal area and further mapping must decide which of these two types of areas is represented.

2. *Maps showing the absence of indices of definite cultural groupings and the presence of civic and social organizations of a secondary nature,* i.e., formal organizations with officers, statements of purpose, a definite social structure, and a concern in common welfare. Two boundaries should be indicated on the map: (*a*) the wide reach of the organization—this is usually the formal definitions of boundaries which the organization gives in its printed literature and upon first inquiry; (*b*) the inner boundaries, the area within which the majority of its members live. These latter boundaries are the significant ones in determining the real natural area which is tributary to the organization.

   The plotting of the residences of people who participate in the activities of a given organization, and then the drawing of lines about the further reach of the dots and about their concentration is the accurate way to prepare a map of this type. Many of these accurate maps will be wanted in the course of the study.

   When an area shows heterogeneous social phenomena with no general community organizations in existence, however, it is usually an indication of the third type of natural social grouping, a marginal or interstitial area.

C. *Marginal areas.* As was suggested in the definition on page 71, cultural areas seem to have a "nucleus or center in which the characteristic traits are most emphasized and from which they radiate out with diminishing strength."

On the fringes of cultural areas, or between two dominant cultural areas, unorganized or disorganized areas are often found in which group life has not as yet developed, or in which the group life is disintegrating. In these areas social interaction either is very scarce or is on the wane, and people tend to live individuated, without social bonds. A rooming-house area in a city, an aggregate of isolated individuals, each living more or less unto himself, with few ties to bind him to his fellow-lodgers and with no community interests, is a district of this type. A new, unformed area with but few residents is an illustration of an unorganized area, and such a section would hardly constitute a sociological unit. Areas of unorganization or disorganization may be discovered through the following maps:

1. Noting, as suggested in connection with political groups, those areas in the series of social maps which shows considerable variation in phenomena within a relatively small area.
2. *Maps of social pathology.* By making a series of maps plotting the addresses of cases of poverty, delinquency, truancy, divorce, desertion, crime, and other types of social pathology which occur within a given area, it is possible to secure the natural areas of social disorganization within the governmental unit.

   Areas of disorganization are usually well known by reputation and do not require as much mapping as do some of the other types of local areas.

D. *Summary of social areas.* The preceding discussion of the way in which to determine the boundaries of natural social groupings undoubtedly sounds very complicated. But, except in the case of large cities, the problem is not nearly as difficult as it sounds. For in presenting the problem it has been necessary to suggest many different kinds of social areas, while in the concrete study of most governmental

areas the social areas are relatively few in number and usually known by reputation, at least, from the outset of the study. If the investigator will begin his mapping by working out more exactly the outstanding divisions of the community with which he is most familiar and then attempt to grapple with the residue of the governmental unit, those sections of it which are not so obviously defined, his problem will be greatly simplified. It might also be stated once more that the mapping of phenomena gives only an indication of the existence of natural social units, and must be followed by case studies of the areas. Such studies often result in redefinitions and more accurate boundaries.

E. *The relationship between ecological areas and social areas.* Social areas in modern society are usually in a state of flux, reflecting the ceaseless flow of life itself. In areas of rapid change, where there is a high rate of mobility, where people frequently move or constantly come into contact with other cultures, the areas shift with surprising rapidity. In most of the local areas of New York or Chicago, for example, each decade witnesses a new social area on a given site.

An ecological area studied today may contain an Italian colony and a Polish colony; at the time of next study the site of the Italian colony may have become occupied by a Croatian colony, and the site of the Polish cultural area may have become a hobohemia, a distinctly different social area. The hobohemian area probably will have new boundaries, extending into part of the territory previously occupied by the Italian colony.

The sociologist is interested in studying each of the four cultural areas: the Italian, Polish, Croatian, and the homeless-man area. But he is also interested in keeping track of the processes which have changed the areas, of the interactions which arise out of the impact of the old and the new cultural groups. Each group which passes through

a given site seems to leave an imprint which affects the one which succeeds it, so the continuity of an area must be taken into account. The sociologist finds himself in need of some more permanent basis than the social area for pooling data concerning the processes and social changes which are taking place. For this reason he has sought a more lasting natural area, and has selected the ecological divisions.

Ecological areas give a more permanent, though at the same time a more arbitrary, basis. Yet inasmuch as they take into account physical and economic factors which exert an influence upon the location of groups, they bear a significant relationship to the social area. Social areas seem to criss-cross back over governmental boundaries without rhyme or reason, but they usually form within ecological areas, constituting irregular patches, for the physical barriers which usually define an ecological area are recognized by people as barriers. When a person moves across one of these local landmarks—a railroad, a street-car line, a river—he generally has a sense of having either risen or fallen in the world.

The ecological areas, in other words, are pigeonholes on the landscape which the investigator uses in studying the surge of social life. Experience has shown that social groupings tend to segregate within these pigeonholes. But while the sociologist uses these divisions to pool data over a period of time, he is always interested in using the social areas which are contained within the ecological boundaries and he uses these as the basic unit for his investigations of any given period.

F. *Map files.* Much information, valuable for other purposes than determining natural areas, can be found on maps which show the exact locations of various kinds of social phenomena.

For example, a city may have a very low infant mortal-

ity rate, but a spotting of the location of infant mortality cases probably will reveal a concentration of cases in one or two natural areas. The rates for these areas will be abnormally high, and to discover this fact is to get some real insight into the problem of infant mortality.

Maps also offer a graphic method of correlating data. Through a comparison of a series of maps it is possible to see what constellations of social phenomena occur in different areas, and these constellations suggest hypotheses of interrelationships and lines for further research.

ASSIGNMENT 5[1]

NATURAL HISTORY OF EACH SOCIAL AREA

PROBLEM: As has already been pointed out (cf. pp. 00), sociology is interested in historical data both because an understanding of the past is essential to an adequate interpretation of existing group life and because historical study can reveal the sweep of social forces and processes. In the past the tendency in history has been on the more spectacular events, but the sociologist, like the modern historian, is interested also in the commonplace routine, the usual interactions within the group which, together with its moments of crisis, reveal the cultural life of the group.

A definite territorial base is of great value in reconstructing a social history, for it may be used as an underlying design to solve the puzzle. Each section within the area must be accounted for throughout the period of study, and this fact acts as a check to determine the completeness of material. The question, "What was the next change in this corner of the area?" leads the investigator to gather information which might otherwise have been overlooked.

The problem is to produce social histories of each of the natural areas selected as base units, to reconstruct vividly the life of these areas at different periods, and to secure a concrete account of the forces and processes which have created the change from one period to another.

REFERENCES: Case, Clarence M., *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, pp. 3–15, 147–57; Davis, Jerome, and Barnes, E., *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 3–18; Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Science of Society*, pp. 1–24; also see Part I, chap. ii, "Methods of Sociological Research" in this manual.

TECHNIQUES:

Interview (see pp. 168–79).

Diary (see pp. 180–84).

[1] For illustration of this assignment see pp. 228–32.

CASE DESCRIPTION: The kind of data which should be included in the social history of an area may be summarized as follows:

A. *The early settlement.* Who were the first settlers? What was their nationality? Where did they come from? Why did they leave? Why did they choose this area for their new home? Who were the outstanding personalities? Did the early settlers know each other before they moved here?

What were their occupations before entering the area? What natural resources did they make use of in their new home? What occupations did they enter? What business and new enterprises did they develop?

Just where did they locate their homes? What physical features made this section desirable for residences? Why was this particular locality selected?

What roads and transportation facilities existed within the first settlement? Effect of these on the life of the group? What roads and transportation facilities connected it with other communities?

What institutions did they develop—churches, schools, clubs, lodges, etc? What factions within the group, if any, were represented by particular institutions? What interrelationships existed among the various institutions?

Describe as fully as possible the life of the people in these days. What were the prevalent customs, religions, ideas, moral ideas, community interests, life-values? What type of family life was characteristic? What was the attitude toward neighborliness? What must you do to be a good neighbor? What were the outstanding events which occurred? Give a full account of these. What crises did the community meet? How did it adjust itself? Did any factions or conflict groups result?

What have been the most lasting contributions of this period to the one which follows? Why has this particular part of the social heritage persisted? What traditions were formulated?

What was the reputation of this area in surrounding communities? What outstanding contributions has it made to surrounding areas?

B. *Second period.* What were the outstanding events and conditions which brought about the transition from the first period? Did the change come gradually, or was it abrupt? What were the outstanding effects of the change upon the old settlers and old social life?

What physical changes took place, i.e., transportation, drainage of swamps, new types of buildings, industrial plants, etc.? What new areas were opened for settlement; their exact boundaries and dates of occupation?

What new groups came in? Nationality? Economic status? Where did they come from? Why did they come?

What relationships developed between the old settlers and the newcomers? Did conflicts arise? What old organizations did they join? What new ones did they form? What accommodations did the old and new groups develop? What was the status of the newcomers in the community?

Did old settlers move before "the invaders"? Did children of old settlers remain in the community after they grew up? If not, why did they migrate? What was their attitude toward the newcomers? Did they intermarry with them?

In what outstanding ways, if any, did the customs of the old and new groups differ, i.e., family life, religion, moral ideas, life-values?

How was the old group modified by the new? How was the new group modified by the old? What changes came in the life of the group as a whole?

What were the outstanding events which occurred during this period? Give a full account of these. What crises occurred and how did the groups adjust themselves?

What has been the most lasting contribution of this period to the ones which follow?

C. *Subsequent period.* Follow outline B for each subsequent period, bringing the history down to the present day.

D. *Present trends.* What changes, if any, is the community on the verge of at the present time? What are the factors in this change? Is it rapid or gradual? What can you predict about the next period?

The foregoing groups of questions suggest the general point of view and type of data significant for a social history. It is necessary, however, to particularize the foregoing questions for the study of any given area.

CHRONOLOGICAL DIGEST: Two general types of historical material will be available: (1) events with dates which serve to break the slow, ongoing processes of society into significant segments (they usually indicate turning-points in group life); (2) data descriptive of conditions which persist over a period of time and give a keen, sympathetic insight into the life of the area.

A chronological digest of the history will be found invaluable as a work sheet. The dated events secured from the initial study of existing records will give a skeleton. To this can be added from time to time the other dated events as they are secured. Frequent study of this growing chronological table will suggest gaps in the historical material as well as events concerning which an all-around descriptive study should be made. Most statements of events are formal and conventional and give little real insight into the way the event actually happened. For example, the item "1878—Village incorporated" occurs. It is the story behind this in which the sociologist is interested. Why was it organized? What were the conditions which led to organization? Who were the leaders in the movement? Was there opposition? Who led the opposition? What was the community like at that time?

Of course, there are always parts of the past history of a group which are completely lost and cannot be accurately reconstructed. These gaps should be frankly recognized; the investigator must limit himself to authentic data.

COLLECTION OF DATA: Unless exceptionally good documents of the early history exist, it will be impossible to secure the detailed type of material which is of interest to the natural historian for periods which antedate the experiences of the oldest living residents of an area. Diligent search of old legal records, especially court files, newspapers, personal correspondence, personal diaries, etc., would yield much of value, but it is often difficult to allocate by specific local areas the information contained in such material.

The narrative of an old resident of any period, supplemented by discussion with him of the more important events and by direct cross-questioning, gives valuable material.

Old residents generally enjoy conversing about their experiences and are usually the best subjects for a novice to interview. Detailed suggestions for interviewing given on pages 168–79 should be mastered before attempting an interview.

A few more hints concerning interviews, with old residents in particular, might be added:

Experience has shown that each person usually knows accurately a small section over a brief period of time, and has vague but suggestive information concerning larger areas and extending over longer periods of time. It is therefore necessary to obtain many interviews in order to round out the story of each local area.

It is difficult to predict what type of person can give the desired information. Leaders of community life sometimes have surprisingly little intimate knowledge of the life of the area, while some inconspicuous person who has lived quietly and reflectively will have an amazing stock of knowledge.

An individual is always a member of a number of groups, and it is the experiences of groups and subgroups which are of interest in this study. It is therefore always necessary to identify the group whose opinion is being presented.

It is often difficult for an old-timer to give exact dates. He

can usually arrive at them indirectly, however, by relating the event to some specific event in his own family: a death, birth, marriage, the date on which he started a particular job, etc. "Reckoning" of this type usually proves very accurate.

RECORDS: The following records should be kept: (1) diary record of your own experiences; (2) a separate, detailed record of each interview; (3) the chronological digest suggested.

Information concerning the diary and interview records are contained in chapters iii and iv and should be carefully consulted.

The material obtained in the field through observation and interviewing is in narrative form with concrete statements. After it has been recorded it should be studied (1) for clues as to incidents or attitudes about which more data is required, and (2) from the standpoint of these outlines in order to determine what phases of the study have been covered and what phases still remain untouched.

ASSIGNMENT 6

NATURAL HISTORY OF THE GOVERNMENTAL AREA

PROBLEM: In the preceding study the emphasis has been upon compiling a social history of each of the local areas or elementary units into which the larger governmental unit has been broken. There are, however, important forces and processes which affect large areas—a whole town, city, or county—and the history of small, specific local areas should be cast against this broader background.

REFERENCES: See references in previous assignment.

TECHNIQUES:

Interviews (see pp. 168–79).

Diary (see pp. 180–84).

STATISTICS AND CASE DESCRIPTION:

A. *Statistics.* Most of the statistics available will be compiled on the basis of the political unit: village, county, town, city. A comparison of statistics over a period of years will indicate trends and suggest fields for studies. The concrete case material collected in this and previous studies will contribute much to an interpretation of the statistics. Statistics are usually available on the following points:

1. *Population.* Total number, age and sex distribution, nationality, literacy, occupations. Variations in any of these factors from one period to another are usually indexes of significant changes in social life and ongoing social processes.
2. *Industries and business.* Number and type of industrial establishments, number of people employed, number of women and children employed, value of the product. Trends over periods of years give valuable suggestions. Comparison of data obtained in 1 is also significant.
3. *Vital statistics.* Changes in death-rates, infant mortality, birth-rate, different disease rates.

Suggestions as to the analysis of the type of data can be found on pages 57–58.

B. *Case description.* Growth and expansion in one section of an area affects other sections because of the organic, intimate interdependence of the different parts. Data which deal with the development of a governmental area as a whole are therefore indispensable in understanding a local area within it.

1. Development of the hinterland of a town, the area tributary to it which pours its products into the town on the one hand, and purchases commodities from it on the other, is the outstanding factor in the development of the town. For instance, the history of the development of natural resources, coal, iron ore, etc., of the hinterland will be necessary to an understanding of the industrial development of the town. Or, changes in agriculture in the surrounding territory will have a direct effect upon a rural town, upon its whole social organization and group life.
2. A history of transportation is essential to an understanding of the town. Freight and passenger connections breaking down the isolation of a town have far-reaching effects upon its social life and the growth of its areas. This development also affects the hinterland.
3. Outstanding events in the life of the town as a whole are often reflected only segmentally in one of its local areas. The whole story is essential to an intelligent interpretation of the event in the local area.
4. The "epoch setting," the general tone of a period, can often be sketched in the large from data concerning "the town" which cannot be localized into any particular section. These descriptions serve as glasses through which to view the life of a local area during a given period.

COLLECTION OF DATA: The first study of existing records will have unearthed much of this material. More can be gathered as old residents are interviewed for material on local areas.

A chronological digest, such as is described on page 85, will be of service in the historical study also.

RECORDS: Each interview should be recorded separately (cf. pp. 177); personal experiences should be entered in diary (cf. pp. 182); old records should be copied or the data from them digested and classified in the central files described in Assignment 1.

ASSIGNMENT 7

CONTEMPORARY STUDY OF EACH SOCIAL AREA

PROBLEM: The historical approach was used almost exclusively by the pioneer sociologists who were blocking in the first broad outlines of their field. Certain attributes of the historical approach made it the medium par excellence for this initial task:

a) Social processes usually take place so gradually and subtly that it is easier to detect them through a long time survey.

b) It is also easier for most people to be objective about a culture in which they themselves are not enmeshed.

c) It is only after some guideposts have been erected that this close-up scrutiny of one's own culture can be carried on objectively.

The retrospective account of social processes, however, has decided limitations from a scientific standpoint. It is exceedingly difficult to obtain an accurate, detailed picture of what has happened centuries before, especially in an epoch of different culture. Many of these earlier interpretations of the past were vitiated by reading the standards, ideas, and customs of contemporary culture into the analyses of past events.

Contemporary history, history concerning the generations of people still living, can yield more of value to the sociologist, for it is possible to supplement the accounts recorded in documents by personal interviews, thus rounding out the tale and securing many of the less spectacular, unformalized details which make up the substratum of sociological data.

But even more valuable are the data obtained from the first-hand observation of contemporary events. Leaving behind the enticing sweep of centuries of history with all its grandeur and immensity, the sociologist must turn to the more prosaic chore of examining some relatively minute aspect of a contemporary society, spending per-

haps as much time on studying this limited problem as his predecessor spent on studying the whole era of human associations. Curiously enough, one of the contributions of this modern study should be the formulation of laws of human behavior which will place historical criticism on a firmer basis and eventually make possible a more revealing interpretation of previous centuries.

The survey of a contemporary group is but an introduction to this intensive study of specific problems. It is an attempt to witness a unit of society actually carrying on, outlining broadly the processes which operate.

REFERENCES: Case, Clarence M., *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, pp. 550–93; Davis, Jerome, and Barnes, Harry E., *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 453–83, 593–698; Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 226–32, 252–68, 293–302, 339–56, 435–43, 800–846.

TECHNIQUES:

Observation (see pp. 161–67).

Interview (see pp. 168–79).

Diary (see pp. 180–84).

CASE DESCRIPTION: From the standpoint of logic, this very complex, contemporary study of the social areas should be divided into many subtopics. But from the standpoint of the collection of data in the field this is impossible. For one cannot interview a person again and again, obtaining information first about isolation in the community, then social contacts, then conflicts, and so on down the list. The unit of research must be the interview with a given man, and though each person will know most about some particular phase of a community, data should be secured from him concerning all other phases with which he is familiar. This practical necessity makes it essential to have in mind as many aspects of the study as possible, and they are briefly outlined in the following paragraphs.

A. *Isolation.* Two problems are presented here: (1) isolation of the territorial unit from the surrounding territory; (2) isolation of groups and people within the territorial unit from each other.

1. *What differentiates this area from the surrounding territory?*

a) Consider each of the boundaries of the area. Is it a physical barrier based on topographical features or human constructions? Is it a historical boundary, imbedded in tradition and symbolic of many conflicts and differences? Is it a dividing line between religious groups? Between groups of different nationalities? Between groups of different races? Between groups of different economic status? Between groups of different occupations (i.e., overall and white-collar workers)? Between old and new groups?

b) What is the relative strength of each boundary? Which boundary do individuals cross most frequently in leaving the area for work, recreation, visiting friends, shopping, church? Which boundaries do individuals cross most frequently when entering the area for these purposes?

What boundaries do individuals cross to change their residence, either in leaving the community or coming into it to live? What changes in economic status do these changes in residence represent?

What boundaries are more firmly intrenched in the minds of inhabitants of the areas? Of inhabitants of other areas?

What boundaries are crossed by the various natural groupings depicted on the maps?

c) What changes may take place in the boundaries?

What boundaries seem the weakest at the present time? Are there any projected local improvements which may affect existing boundaries? Any new

location of institutions which may affect barriers? Any other changes?

2. *What differentiates various groups within the natural area from each other?* Consider here groupings on the basis of nationality, race, economic status, occupation, length of residence in the community.
3. *Isolated individuals.* Are there any people socially ostracized? Why? What light does this throw on current social standards? On group methods of control? Are there any "lost souls," people who do not fit into existing groups? What are their interests?

B. *Social contacts.* In life, isolation and contacts are so closely related that it is difficult to draw the line between them; both are relative statements of the amount of communication which exists. Social contacts can be broadly studied from the same type of questions as those listed under 3, with special emphasis placed on those factors which draw people together. In most instances a negative answer concerning isolation is a positive answer concerning social contacts.

Communication, the medium of social contacts, mobility which determines the number of stimulating contacts, and social distance which measures the degree of social contact can all be considered, from the standpoint of this general survey, under the next topics.

C. *Local interest groups.* Here we are especially concerned with the organized life which goes on in an area. Type Study No. 2 is designed for an intensive study of this kind of group behavior. All that can be accomplished in this introductory survey is to outline roughly the various interest groups and the rôle which they play in the life of an area.

1. *Social directory.* From data gathered in this and previous sections of the study, and from local newspapers, classified directories, etc., prepare a social directory of the area. Churches, lodges, schools, political organiza-

tions, clubs, business men's associations, etc., should be included.

2. *Each organization.*

a) *Formal organization.* Date of organization? Stated purpose? Reasons for organization? Original leaders? Place of organization? Rituals observed? Does ritual play an important part?

b) *Membership.* What type of people are members? Characterize by age, sex, nationality, occupational affiliation in other organizations. What is their standing in the community? What is the basis of selection which actually operates? Does this organization draw people from outside the area?

From what sections of the area do most of the members come? (See map showing distribution of members.)

Do families participate as a unit? Is participation largely on an individual basis?

c) *Activities.* How do the activities of members compare with the stated purposes of the organizations? What is the actual behavior? What needs of the members does the group satisfy? What groups are in conflict with this one? With what groups does it co-operate? What have been the outstanding events in the history of the group? How do these affect its present activities?

d) *Rôle in the community.* What rôle does the organization play in molding the life of the community? What increases or diminishes its importance as a social force?

What changes in the organization have reflected changes in the community? What situations in the community are responsible for the group's existence? In what type of social environment would this organization cease to function?

D. *Informal social organization.* The informal aspects of behavior of a territorial group are more difficult to ascertain than those formally organized, though even in the case of the latter it is difficult to get behind the conventional structure and discover what the group really is

Informal group behavior in a natural area is, however, the basic behavior which pervades all types of activity, including that of formal organization. Even as standardized an organization as a Boy Scout troop or an Epworth League society will bear the stamp of adaptation to the underlying customs, mores, and life-values existent in the area.

Turning from the consideration of specific organized groups, the entire territorial group now becomes the unit of this phase of the study:

1. What interests of the territorial group are not expressed in organization? How important are these?
2. What are the outstanding habits of group behavior or customs which mark this territorial group off from others? Can these be traced to past experiences of the group? Has the group well-established routines and habits of activity?
3. What will the group not tolerate? What events have recently aroused it? Did the events call up discussion or direct emotional behavior, such as mob violence?
4. Does the group respond readily to fashions? In what realm? In what respects is it notably conservative?
5. What are the outstanding prejudices current in the group or in definite parts of it? Have these prejudices become organized into propaganda?
6. What consensus of attitudes on the larger issues of the day especially reflect the sentiments of the group? What centers of influence in the community are instrumental in formulating public opinion?
7. How much spontaneous, face-to-face interaction takes

place among members of the group? Are there castes which act as barriers to interaction?

8. What is the group's attitude toward cases of social pathology? What action does it take?

E. *Intra-group organization.* How much overlapping is there among groups? Do a number of groups have the same leaders? Do the leaders of different groups have confidence in each other? Is there under- or over-organization in the area? Do the groups combine readily to act on matters of common interest? What are these interlocking interests? What groups dominate these federations? Are there "unofficial" relationships between members of different groups? Are these group relationships complicated by unfortunate past experiences?

What are the outstanding centers of group life? What constellations of institutions are found here? Do different sections of the area patronize different centers? Which centers dominate?

Are the majority of the groups purely local, or are they affiliated with national organizations? What peculiarly local traits do these branches show? Are non-localized interest groups of more importance in the life of the people than neighborhood or community organizations?

What is the relationship between the amount of shift in population and the amount of group organization and intraorganization?

F. *Relationship to other communities.* To what extent is the natural area autonomous, and to what extent is it dependent upon surrounding areas for its activities? Are the majority of the interests of the people of the group satisfied by life within the borders of the community? What communities are "looked up to"? To what extent are other areas dependent upon this one? To what extent is the area "in the stream" of modern life? What are the national issues with which it is especially concerned?

G. *Boundaries of natural social areas.* In the light of this additional information should any changes be made in the boundaries of cultural, political, and original areas which were determined by the mapping of data? Do these boundaries encompass naturally organized social groups?

COLLECTION OF DATA: As much of the foregoing material as possible should be gathered from actual observation of group life, from informal talks with people, from current newspapers, and from literature, documents, and reports. Data collected in previous assignments should be scanned from this angle. Formal interviews with leaders of different organizations should be reserved for Type Study No. 2.

People's attitudes and opinions are significant for this study in so far as they may be taken as representative of those held by a given group. In order to obtain a fair sample of the community these informal conversations should be carried on with as wide a variety of people as possible: ministers, children, housewives, politicians, business men, teachers, doctors, etc.

The data recorded should be conversations, and concrete observations of group situations together with the resulting behavior. It is not, of course, possible to sever this part of the study from that which has preceded it. Additional material can be obtained on the history of the area or other previous assignments during the course of this one; and this more intimate inquiry, as stated before, will be a check upon the validity of the natural boundaries tentatively discovered in Assignments 3 and 4.

Case material should be constantly studied as it is obtained in order to discover concrete problems for further investigation.

RECORDS:

Diary of personal experiences (see p. 82).

Records of observations and responses of groups (see pp. 164–65).

Records of conversations and informal interviews (see p. 177).

ASSIGNMENT 8[1]

DOCUMENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

PROBLEM: The final step in research is the complex one of documenting, analyzing, and interpreting the data which have been collected, and it is this problem that is presented in this assignment.

REFERENCES AND TECHNIQUES:

Documentation (see pp. 192–99).

Case Analysis (see pp. 200–207).

SUGGESTIONS: The following additional, specific suggestions are made for the handling of the case material of this type study:

A. *Documentation.* All data collected should be put into permanent form by each person participating in the survey. This is essential in order that needless duplication in research may be avoided and each person may build solidly on the work which has already been done.

A limited number of complete, documented interviews and observations is far more valuable than dozens of sloppy manuscripts.

B. *Analysis.* In arranging the data on a territorial group an analysis chart has been found indispensable. The basis for this chart is the chronological sheet prepared in the history of the social areas and the history of the governmental units. This chart should be made for each of the social areas studied. Dates should be kept down the left-hand margin, forming the stub, but horizontally classified into significant topics. The material entered on this analytical chart should include both events and descriptive phrases. The following topical divisions are suggested for the horizontal headings of the analysis chart:

1. Ecological factors affecting relation of area to surrounding sections:
   a) Making for isolation.
   b) Making for unity.

[1] For illustration of case analysis see pp. 233–36.

2. Internal forces in the life of the area:
   a) Population changes.
   b) Ecological changes.
   c) Economic changes.
   d) Centers of community life.
   e) Organizations.
   f) Informal group life.

By reading the chart horizontally it is possible to get a conception of the life of any given period, analyzed into its significant elements.

By reading the chart vertically, it is possible to trace the development of a given factor. Intensive study of the chart will suggest interrelationships and topics for further research.

C. *Interpretation.* In scientific research the analysis of the concrete data is followed by the attempt to explain the facts by existing hypotheses and laws, and then by the formulation of new hypotheses and laws in instances where the data warrant them.

The general, introductory character of the survey, however, makes it impossible to obtain a complete, scientific interpretation. Through this preliminary study concrete data bearing on many different sociological hypotheses and generalizations are obtained, but the data on any one of these points will be too meager to result in the formulation of new laws and hypotheses.

From the standpoint of research the analysis of the survey will have fulfilled its function when it suggests possible problems for intensive investigation and orients these problems with the organic whole of group life.

From the standpoint of student training the analysis of the survey will have fulfilled its function when it enables the student to bring into juxtaposition the more generally accepted theoretical concepts and interpretations with the concrete findings concerning the operation of a definite unit of social life.

Discussion of student findings with respect to a number of different areas will contribute further to their understanding of group life, by throwing into relief the peculiarities of different communities, and the explanations of them.

It is suggested that a list be compiled of the more important processes and concepts studied in texts on sociology and that each of these be examined and illustrated from the standpoint of concrete data obtained. This will serve as a general review of the course in sociology.

D. *Listing of problems.* Every investigation and every piece of research raises more problems than it settles. And this is especially true of an exploratory study such as a sociological survey. In fact, one of the chief functions of the survey is to discover the important problems for further intensive research. Suggestions of persons who have actually taken part in the survey are of more value than those compiled by persons who merely read the results obtained. It is therefore of importance that each investigator list the problems he has uncovered as well as his "hunches" as to ways of solving them.

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CHAPTER III

TYPE STUDY NO. 2: SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF AN INTEREST GROUP

INTRODUCTION

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF AN INTEREST GROUP

In analyzing the social life of a natural area it immediately becomes evident that there are numerous groups or associations in which some, but by no means all, of the people resident within the area are members. And it is also evident that these smaller groups are outstanding social forces that influence community life, and that they must be intensively studied before the community can be fully understood. Churches, schools, boys' gangs, clubs, political organizations, and business men's associations illustrate the wide variety of groups covered by this type study.

The basis of membership in an interest group does not depend always upon territorial propinquity. With the development of transportation and communication the area over which people can be organized into non-territorial groups has been extended until today it embraces the greater part of the world. International organizations which come within the scope of this type of group are numerous, and it is not uncommon for many residents of a local group to be members of national and even international associations. However, in this study the chief concern is interest groups that function principally in local areas and therefore have a rather narrowly defined territorial base. Crowds, mobs, casual gatherings may be considered also as interest groups, but the problem is further limited to relatively permanent associations of people.

The underlying characteristic of non-territorial groups is that they are composed of kindred spirits who have been drawn together because of common interests and a desire to participate in

the same activities. The groups are relatively segmental, segmental in their selection of people who live within a given natural area, or segmental in the fact that each group usually satisfies a few interests of the individual predominantly, so that he must belong to a number of groups in order to satisfy his various interests. The groups are referred to variously in current writing as "segmental groups," "association groups," and "interest groups." None of these terms are entirely satisfactory because they can be applied to territorial groups also. Detailed studies are essential to refine the definition and separate the various kinds of groups from each other. The term "interest group" has been selected in this study because it seems to emphasize the outstanding characteristic of this type of group, though it does not satisfactorily mark the limits which separate this type of group from other types.

II. GENERAL PLAN OF THE STUDY

This outline for the study of an interest group is a composite statement derived from the study of a wide variety of interest groups found in natural areas. It is, of course, difficult to study at first hand an interest group of international scope, but in the study of interest groups of neighborhoods, cities, counties, and states it is possible to get an exact analysis of some fundamental factors of group interaction. These local interest groups reflect social processes in miniature, in situations in which they can be concretely observed and studied. Because interest groups are comparatively small, as well as segmental, they offer definite units for specific research. In addition to studying community interest groups, students may follow the outlines in studying both formal and informal campus groups.

The following plan of research is suggested for the study of interest groups:

SECTION I. DIARY OF GROUP ACTIVITIES

A running account should be kept of the group in action, of its formal meetings, and of its informal gatherings. This record should be as accurate in detail and as vivid as possible.[1]

[1] See Appendix B for illustration of a diary.

SECTION II. SPECIAL STUDIES

Different aspects of the group and group activities should be studied from time to time:

1. History of the group.
2. Membership in the group.
3. Members of the group.
4. Leadership in the group.
5. Group conflicts.
6. Social organization and control in the group.
7. Relation of the group to the community.

SECTION III. DOCUMENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

The data collected in the first two sections of the study is to be carefully documented, analyzed, and interpreted sociologically.

In making an intensive study of an interest group it is almost essential that the investigator be what Professor Lindeman has termed a "participant observer."[1] The smaller the group, and the more intimate its members, the more necessary it is that the person studying the group be closely associated with it. If he does not already have entrée, this must be gradually secured before the study can be undertaken. The record of the investigator's experiences in becoming a part of the group will in itself form a valuable part of the data concerning it, for it will depict the reactions of the group toward newcomers as well as the process by which a person becomes incorporated into the group. The special studies listed can be carried on in any convenient order, and the order chosen will depend largely upon the contacts established with the group.

Through the running diary of group activities and contacts with members of the group, information concerning all of the special studies will be constantly collected; and the data gathered

[1] The term "participant observer" in this study differs somewhat from the meaning which Professor Lindeman assigns to it. It includes both (*a*) a person who has identified himself with a group simply for the purpose of studying it; (*b*) a person who is really a part of the group but studies it in an objective, detached manner.

for any of the special studies will have bearing on all the others. It is therefore necessary that the entire set of outlines be kept in mind in order that the interrelations between the various phases of research may be considered. Different aspects, represented by each of the special studies, can be selected for emphasis at different periods during the course of the investigations, but all aspects are bound to present themselves during any phase of the research.

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ASSIGNMENT 1

DIARY OF ACTIVITIES OF THE GROUP AND ITS MEMBERS

Two diaries should be kept throughout this study: one containing a record of observations of group behavior, and a personal diary containing a record of the investigator's experiences with research techniques and methods.[1] Detailed information concerning the latter type of diary is contained in chapter iv, "The Diary" (cf. pp. 182–83).[2]

The first type of diary, a chronological record of the investigator's observations and experiences with the group and its members, written as soon as is convenient after the observation has been made, will furnish invaluable data for the special aspects of the study which are to follow. The essential facts concerning the group can be obtained only very seldom by the direct questions of a stranger, though a sociologist who has intensively studied many groups may infer significant facts from such a procedure. Careful observation by a person who enters into the group naturally without disrupting its usual behavior, and who carries on these observations quietly and unobtrusively over a period of time, yields the most accurate data. For the purpose of the study is to penetrate deeply into the life of the group, to uncover the real significance of its activities from the standpoint of its members, and to obtain the "inside story."

The actual activities of the group will never follow the logical analyses presented in these outlines, and the running record of behavior as it actually occurs must form the backbone of the sociological data. It is possible, and necessary, to turn aside to ferret out the type of material required for the special studies, but the diary record of what is going on in the

[1] Since 1912 Professor Robert E. Park has emphasized the value of the diary in sociological research and it has proved an important technique.

[2] In the student's diary presented in Appendix B the flexibility of method is illustrated. In this case the two types of diary are combined into one (pp. 238–44).

group should not be neglected. Throughout the research, information which has bearing on special phases of group behavior can be culled from the diary and used as a point of departure for the special studies.

In instances where a student is analyzing a group of which he is already a member the problem arises of taking an objective attitude toward situations and relationships with which he is familiar. For he is usually so submerged in the life of the group that it is difficult for him to observe its behavior in a detached, scientific manner. Nevertheless the effort of the investigator to study objectively social groups to which he belongs has exceptional value both for him and for the research data which he is attempting to gather. As has already been stated, a participant observer can obtain more revealing data concerning a group than an outsider. And an individual can usually learn more sociology by getting a new point of view concerning groups with which he is already familiar, through an impartial investigation of them, than by studying groups with which he has no intimate contacts.

ASSIGNMENT 2

SPECIAL STUDIES: HISTORY OF THE GROUP[1]

PROBLEM: A natural history of the group, an account which portrays chronologically the everyday humdrum behavior of the group as well as its more spectacular experiences, will give a background for understanding the present group activities. It will also demonstrate significant processes and interrelationships that take place within the group. The object is to secure as complete a history as possible of the group, recognizing gaps in the account that cannot be filled, and keeping within the bounds of actual data.

TECHNIQUES AND METHODS:

Interviews (see pp. 161–67).

Diary (see pp. 180–84).

Study of existing documents—minutes, newspapers, articles, local histories.

REFERENCES: See references on page 82.

CASE DESCRIPTION: The following items are suggestive of what should be included in this phase of the study:

A. *Early organization.* When was the group formed? Why? What was its purpose as stated? What were its immediate objectives? Its remote objectives? Did its real purpose and the rôle it occupied in the lives of its members differ from its stated purpose?

Where did it meet? What type of programs and activities did it have? Was its organization formal or informal?

Who were the first officers? The leaders? Describe their activities and points of view.

Who were the first members? On what basis did the selection of members take place? What interests bound the members together? What mutual associations had they previously had? Were they enthusiastic about the new organization?

[1] For illustration of this assignment see pp. 245–47.

B. *Outstanding events.* What conflicts and crises has the group passed through? Has it experienced any "high-pressure campaigns"? What important events have accelerated its progress toward its goals? What important events have changed its direction of development? What events seem to stand out most vividly in the memories of its members?

C. *Changes in organization.* What different stages has the group passed through? Describe each one in detail.

What leaders has it had? How have these leaders differed from one another? What effect have they had upon the activities of the group?

What changes has the group experienced in place of meeting? In type of program?

Has the group undergone a cycle of development? If so, trace this. Has it passed from informal to formal organization? From democratic to autocratic organization?

D. *Relationship to other groups.* Is this group linked up with a general movement? Are similar groups in existence near by? Is there a general, standardized scheme of organization? What rôle does this group place in the intergroup movement? Has its rôle changed? How does it vary? Has the group adapted itself to general changes in its social environments? With what results?

What changes have taken place in the membership? Why? Has the basis of selection of members changed?

E. *Results of the historical process.* What rituals, traditions, sentiments, symbols, has the group developed? What stories, phrases, jokes connected with past experiences are handed down? What has been the resulting morale of the group?

What achievements is it proud of? Describe and explain the solidarity of the group.

What relationships and activities of the past exert the

greatest influence over the present activities of the group? Why?

COLLECTION OF DATA: In some of the groups being studied the history will yield little of value. This will be especially true, of course, in the case of groups that have been newly formed.

The historical approach is usually one of the easiest approaches to any group, and members will talk more freely to newcomers about things which have happened in the past than about present problems. Where the investigator is not already familiar with the history of the group he can usually secure it by asking but few questions and getting the members to talk freely about old times. Once the general outline of the group's history has been obtained, specific points can be rounded out by discussion with group members.

ASSIGNMENT 3

SPECIAL STUDIES: MEMBERSHIP IN THE GROUP

PROBLEM: To make a general study of the members, the interacting units of the group.

TECHNIQUES:

Interview (see pp. 168–79).
Diary (see pp. 180–84).
Map-making (see pp. 185–91).

REFERENCES: Davis, Jerome, and Barnes, Harry E., *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 598–604; Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 198–210, 293–94, 451–77.

CASE DESCRIPTION:

A. *Habitat of the members.* Plot on a map the residences of members at different stages of the group's history, using different colored symbols for different years, and indicating by symbols the difference between active members and those who "just belong."

What type of natural areas do the people come from? Has there been an increase in the territory covered by the group? Is this the result of the expansion of the group's activities, or is it the result of movement of the old members to new sections? Compare this map with other spot maps, thus obtaining a more complete picture of the type of area in which the group functions.

B. *Size of the group.* How many active members are there? How many "contributing" members? Does the membership fluctuate? Why?

What is the effect of the size of the group on its activities? Of size upon its type of organization? Of size upon its type of relationship between its members? Do all the members know all the others? Do all the members participate in group activities?

C. *The basis of selection.* How were the members of the group

selected? What requirements does one have to meet in order to become a member of the group? What types of individual are ostracized by the group? Do they come from the same or different age and sex groups? Is there a discrepancy between the formal statement of requirements for membership and the actual practice? How have members of the group been brought together?

Can the members be classified into distinct types? If so, describe these and give the relative portion of the members belonging to each type.

D. *Basis of association.* What common interests hold the group together? What similar interests? What common cultural backgrounds? What common or similar experiences? Beliefs? Ideas? In what ways do the members differ most from one another?

How frequently do the members of the group come into contact with one another through the activities of the group? What portion of the leisure time of the members of the group is spent upon the activities of the group? Upon the activities of other groups?

What relationships exist between old and new members? Do they form cliques within the group?

Do regular and repeated contacts create a definite status for those who participate?

Does the group have a center or nucleus, and a periphery?

Are the members on intimate terms with one another? Does the group attempt to bring about relationships which are more intimate than actually exist?

The foregoing questions are designed to secure a general description of the membership of the group, placing it with respect to other organizations and informal groups of the community. The next study deals with individual members.

ASSIGNMENT 4

SPECIAL STUDIES: MEMBERS OF THE GROUP

PROBLEM: To write case studies of individual members of the group. This study will aid in understanding the processes which are taking place within the group. A thoroughgoing study of the individual members would really fall within the realm of social psychology rather than sociology, but the emphasis here is upon that phase of the problem which falls upon the border line of sociology.

TECHNIQUES AND METHODS:

Observation (see pp. 161–67).
Interviews (see pp. 161–67).
Diary (see pp. 180–84).

REFERENCES: Davis, Jerome, and Barnes, Harry E., *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 453–66; Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 64–160, 445–77.

CASE DESCRIPTION: As in the case of most of the special studies, this one is really a central theme which runs throughout the entire investigation of the group, and data for this study will be obtained throughout the research. If the group being studied is small, it is desirable that case studies be made of each of the members. If the group is large, only a limited number of the members can be selected for intensive study. In this case it will be well to select a few personalities, one or two individuals who seem "typical" of the membership of the group, one or two who seem to be "misfits" or "different," and one or two outstanding members. The object of this study is to work out a few case studies intensively, rather than a number superficially. The following outline indicates the type of material to be collected.

A. *General data.* Name, age, place of birth, nationality, occupation (of parent, if case study is of a child), economic

status, place of residence during past ten years, other group affiliations. Length of membership in this group.

B. *Interests.* What occupation does he follow or wish to follow? How does he spend his leisure time? Who are his companions? Has he any hobbies? What are his ambitions? What people does he look up to? Accept as a model? What is his rôle and status in the different groups of which he is a member? What does he consider the most interesting facts about himself?

What interests led him to join this group? To what extent has the group fulfilled expectations? Have interests changed as a result of the group associations? What gains have come through membership? Has he thought of leaving the group?

C. *Attitudes.* What prejudices does he hold (religious, racial, nationality, class)? How do you explain these prejudices? What habitual mannerisms characterize him? List some typical social situations and describe his behavior in them.

D. *Relationship to other members of the group.* What is his attitude toward other members of the group as you have observed it in group meetings, in his conversations? Give concrete examples.

What is his rôle in the group? Is he considered inferior or superior to the other members? Is he considered as deviating from the average by members of the group? By outsiders? Is he considered queer? What members are his especial friends? Has the group honored him in any way?

Does he get into conflict with other members of the group? Does he co-operate well with other members of the group? Is he easily led?

Has he initiative? Does he offer suggestions as to what is to be done? Does he perform certain definite tasks in the group? Is he an "active member"? Does he feel at home in the group?

What has been the effect of his group associations upon him?

E. *Life-history.* If possible, get him either to write or tell his life-history (see suggestions on pp. 147–50).

COLLECTION OF DATA: The intimate, personal data required by this study can only be obtained after you have established *rapport* with the individual being studied. Most of the material should not be obtained directly by questions, but indirectly, through conversations, in which the individual is not "on his guard," but reacts in his usual manner. The prejudices of the individual, for instance, can usually be discovered by conversing with him about people, policies, institutions, organizations, etc., and noting his reactions.

ASSIGNMENT 5

SPECIAL STUDIES: LEADERSHIP IN THE GROUP

PROBLEM: To make a study of leadership in the group, how it is developed and how it is maintained. Leadership is considered as a social phenomenon, the result of reciprocal interaction between the leader and his group.

TECHNIQUES AND METHODS:

Observation (see pp. 161–67).
Interviews (see pp. 168–79).
Diary (see pp. 180–84).

REFERENCES: Davis, Jerome, and Barnes, Harry E., *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 297–99, 484–88; Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Social Relations*, pp. 300–307, 341–47; Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 695–98, 353–54, 695–98.

CASE DESCRIPTION:

A. *The leader.* Who is the leader? How long has he been the leader of the group? What other leaders has the group had, or what other leaders does it have at the present time? What are the differences between these leaders?

Is the present leader the leader of any other groups also? Does he show different qualities of leadership in the other groups? Does he stand for different activities in the different groups? Is he a "different person" in each group? Is his pattern of leadership similar in all groups?

Does he use his position of leader for personal advancement in business or professional life? In gaining social status? Is he looked upon as a "good fellow"? Feared? Hated? Tolerated?

B. *Explanation of leadership.* Record in detail concrete instances in which the leader has both succeeded and failed to lead his group, and analyze these to secure the under-

lying factors. In recording these incidents describe the following:

1. The social situation.
2. The sequence of behavior of leader and members in the situation.
3. Supplement if possible by comments of leader on his behavior.

How do you explain the hold of the leader on the group? Is it in terms of his points of view with respect to issues involved? Of personal ascendancy? Does the leader possess characteristics of the stranger as outlined by Simmel? Is leadership in this group something that has been carried over from other groups? Has conflict with other groups had any bearing upon leadership in this group? Does the leader usually define the situation and offer suggestions as to the line of action to be pursued? What things does he have in common with the group? In what things does he stand above them? Is loyalty to the ideals and interests of the group stronger than loyalty to the leader? Does he dominate the group against their will? Secure co-operation through loyalty to himself?

Have the members confidence in the leader? Does he consult with them about his plans?

What circumstances gave the individual his first opportunity to display qualities of leadership? How has his leadership changed the group?

Are there factions in the group? If so, on what are they based? Who are the leaders of the other faction? Has each leader a well-defined following among the members, or does his following change as issues change?

Obtain type of data suggested above for each of the leaders and compare the analyses of their leadership.

COLLECTION OF DATA: The bulk of the data for this section of the study should be secured through watching the group in action. The diary record of the group which is kept throughout this

study should supply much of the material. Informal conversation with the leader, "drawing him out" in conversation, rather than questioning him directly, should be employed to secure the data. Discuss his leadership casually with the individual and obtain his explanation of how he handles his group, reporting these conversations in detail.

ASSIGNMENT 6

SPECIAL STUDIES: GROUP CONFLICTS

PROBLEM: Conflict situations have long attracted the attention of sociologists, for they have provided one of the most fruitful fields for research. In a conflict situation between two groups, their differences in points of view and behavior are brought into such transparent contrast that intrinsic attributes of each group which had previously passed unobserved are literally thrust upon the attention of the observer. Also, conflicts disrupt the habitual behavior of the group, and in making adjustments the social processes of the group are both intensified and exposed to observation. Both conflicts within the group and conflicts between this group and other groups are studied.

TECHNIQUES:

Observation (see pp. 161–67).
Interview (see pp. 168–79).
Diary (see pp. 180–84).

REFERENCES: Case, Clarence M., *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, pp. 498–515; Davis, Jerome, and Barnes, Harry E., *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 439–52; Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Social Relations*, pp. 177–348; Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 574–662.

CASE DESCRIPTION: Suggestions for the study of group conflicts are as follows:

A. *Conflicts within the group.* Record concrete instances of clashes between members of the group. Supplement these observations with discussions of the conflict with those who were involved.

Was the conflict due to personal antagonism? Attempts to secure a higher status in the group? Rivalry between individuals? Controversial issues? Misunderstandings? Differences in ideals? Differences in cultural backgrounds?

Trace the behavior sequences which occurred during the course of the conflict. What expressions of emotion were evident during the conflict? How was the conflict resolved? What results ensued from it?

Do frequent conflicts occur between these individuals? Have habitual reactions of conflict been built up between them? Are there radical and conservative elements?

Were other members drawn into the conflict? Did they take an active part, or merely "take sides"? What was the effect of the conflict upon group solidarity? What effect has it had upon the progress of the group toward its avowed aims?

How could future conflicts within the group be prevented? Be controlled so as not to issue in open conflict?

B. *Conflicts between this group and other groups.* With what other groups is this group in conflict? What are the issues? At what points do the groups overlap? Are the conflicts occasional or habitual? Which group is usually the aggressor?

What form does the conflict take? Has the form of the conflict been altered through a series of conflicts? What factors brought about the change, i.e., from feuds to rivalry?

What has been the effect of the conflicts upon the solidarity of each group? On generating the feeling of a "we group" as against an "outside group"? On the development of group consciousness? Has the effect been the same on both groups? Do the members of the two groups come into direct contact, or is the disagreement carried on through newspapers, publications of the two groups, statements of members in each group to people outside both groups?

Has the loyalty of a member of this group come into conflict with his loyalty to another group? Has he been forced to choose between the two? With what result?

What public opinion prevails in the community with respect to these conflicts? Which of the groups occupies the stronger position in the community? Which of the groups is looked up to?

COLLECTION OF DATA: Secure data from records of conflicts which have been observed, and from discussing old conflicts with members of the group.

ASSIGNMENT 7

SPECIAL STUDIES: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE GROUP

PROBLEM: The statement is sometimes made that the problem of social control is the central one in sociology. We are confronted with the social fact that individuals conform to groups, that groups have a way of impressing their standards, prejudices, their customary ways of behaving upon individuals. Some of these group controls are exercised subtly, often without individuals being aware of their existence. Others are expressed legally in written form, as mandates to which the group will force obedience.

From the standpoint of science control is also of central importance; we must discover how social control operates in order to be able to exercise control intelligently.

TECHNIQUES:

Observation (see pp. 161–67).
Interview (see pp. 168–79).
Diary (see pp. 180–84).

REFERENCES: Bogardus, Emory S., *Introduction to Sociology* (revised ed.), pp. 380–402; Case, Clarence M., *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, pp. 50–71; Davis, Jerome, and Barnes, Harry E., *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 467–83; 609–39; Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 785–864.

CASE DESCRIPTION: The following suggestions for this study are offered:

A. *Informal controls.* Is there an identity of interests of members with interests of the group? Do members sacrifice their own interests for those of the group? Do members voluntarily conform to group standards?

What taboos exist? What group loyalties have been established, and how do they function as controls? What common language, expressions, mannerisms, gestures,

ideas have been established as a result of the process of group interaction and are peculiar to the group?

Cite instances of repression through informal group control. Of expression in activities.

What symbols, traditions, collective representations control members of the group, arousing them to action? What stories are told of the past life of the group?

Has the group exercised control by ostracizing members? For what? Are threats used? When? Are there "unwritten laws" which members observe? What members are looked upon as "models"? What traits of theirs are extolled? What outsiders are admired?

How are new members inducted into the life of the group and made to feel a part of it? What traditions, group objectives, ideals are transmitted to them, and in what way? Are they given an opportunity actively to participate? What is expected of them?

Can the group be brought into action quickly as a unit? How? What are the usual "rallying points"? Will it act in spite of deterring conditions? Give instances.

Are there recognized gradations of status and authority with the group? Are these largely the result of formal procedure, as for instance elections, or have they grown unwittingly out of group activities?

Is the informal organization of the group strong? Is it largely "unconscious"? Has it been stronger at other stages in the group's development?

Is there an inner circle of active members who control the destinies of the group?

B. *Formal controls.* Does the group have much formal machinery through which it achieves its purposes? Is parliamentary procedure relied upon? Does formal control extend beyond the limits of the informal control?

Does the group have clearly defined standards to which its members are asked to subscribe? Does it have codes of

conduct? On what grounds can a member be expelled from the group? What anti-group activities are punished? How?

Is the program of activities carefully outlined and executed? Are there prescribed ways of doing things?

What rituals and ceremonials have been established? What rules and laws are stressed? Does the group still employ ceremonials or regulations which have outlived their significance, or are they still vital? What are the most effective formal controls?

C. *Group solidarity.* What is the result of these controls in group solidarity? If solidarity is absent, how do you account for these facts? Lack of common interests? Poor organization? Undeveloped controls?

COLLECTION OF DATA: Diary observations supplemented by special observations of the aspects of group behavior suggested will furnish the data for this phase of the study.

ASSIGNMENT 8

SPECIAL STUDIES: RELATION OF THE GROUP TO THE COMMUNITY

Up to this point the group has been more or less isolated from its social background for the purposes of investigation. But every group is partly a product of the larger social environment in which it functions, partly influencing and partly being influenced by the larger group.

PROBLEM: Here the problem is to consider the group being studied with respect to the larger community group within which it functions.

TECHNIQUES:

Observation (see pp. 161–67).
Interview (see pp. 168–79).
Diary (see pp. 180–84).

CASE DESCRIPTION: The following questions indicate the pertinent type of data.

A. *The community.*[1] Consult information collected through Type Study No. 1 to obtain an understanding of the community within which this group functions.

B. *The rôle of the group in the community.* What is the status of the group in the community? What reputation does it have? How does its status and reputation compare with that of other groups? In what ways has the community exercised control over the group? What remarks do people in the community make about it?

Do its members come from various sections of the community—various economic, racial, national, and religious groupings of the community? Does it represent one faction or a cross-section of the community? Does it represent the majority or minority in the population?

[1] Term "community" is used here to indicate the territorial group in which the interest group functions. Technically this may be a cultural group, a political group, or a marginal group.

Does it participate in activities of community-wide significance? Is it a leader in these activities? Do all members participate in these activities, or only the officers?

In what way and to what extent is the group an index of social conditions in the community? What outstanding characteristics of the group bear the stamp of the local area in which it functions? What needs of the community have called it into being? Has the group changed as the community has changed?

COLLECTION OF DATA: Material from Type Study No. 1, from previous sections of this study, and from special observations and discussions will give the data for this topic.

ASSIGNMENT 9[1]

DOCUMENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

PROBLEM: To put the data which has been collected into permanent form, and to analyze and interpret it sociologically.

REFERENCES AND TECHNIQUES:

Documentation (see pp. 192–99).

Analysis and Interpretation (see pp. 200–207.

SUGGESTIONS: The following suggestions apply specifically to the handling of material on an interest group.

A. *Analysis and interpretation.* Three steps are suggested in the analysis and interpretation of facts which have been secured concerning the group: (1) arrange the data which you have obtained concerning the group, stating the significant facts in chronological sequence; (2) list statements in sociology textbooks concerning group behavior, turn these statements into hypotheses, test these hypotheses by the concrete data, and restate them in terms of your own discoveries; (3) compare the analysis of your group with those made of other groups by their students, and apply these comparisons to the hypotheses as suggested in B.

It is always difficult to make suggestions concerning analyses because every group displays its own peculiar behavior and gives the observer insight into many phases of group life, each one of which can in itself create a problem for intensive research. At present we are in an exploratory stage of our studies, and instead of testing universally accepted hypotheses merely to demonstrate their validity, as is done in most sciences, we are still attempting to discover these basic, universally accepted analyses and reduce them to laboratory practice. The outstanding purpose of this study has been to introduce the student to an analysis of a

[1] For illustration of this assignment see pp. 248–53.

group in action, to suggest to him the way in which to consider the group sociologically.

From the data collected in this study many different processes which produce group behavior can be identified. Only the more striking of these, and the ones concerning which you have secured the most complete data, should be selected for intensive study and analysis. Each of these processes should be analyzed step by step, in the most minute detail. Similar processes in other groups should be compared in order to obtain more exact, qualified statements of the processes and the essential variables which condition them. Exact definitions of factors in these processes, in terms of their different attributes, should be secured and compared with one another. There are many general statements concerning group behavior, but few exact, specific statements which define the variables so that both they and the results of their interrelationships can be unmistakably identified.

B. *Listing of problems.* As stated in Type Study No. 1, an important phase of any research problem is always to leave behind a statement of your own mistakes, of hints as to how you would go about the study if you were to undertake it again, of suggestions as to new phases of the study that should be investigated, or of additional data that should be secured to round out parts of the study which have already been considered. This record enables the next observer to pick up the study at the point where it has been discontinued, insuring against needless repetition and waste of time.

TYPE STUDY NO. 3: THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF AN IMMIGRANT GROUP (AN ACCOMMODATION GROUP)

INTRODUCTION

CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE IMMIGRANT GROUP

In dividing almost any political unit of America into natural territorial groups, as described in the previous type study, areas characterized by the imprint of many different foreign cultures will be found. For scattered over this country are immigrant colonies, small aggregates of people principally from European countries, who have brought with them customs, traditions, institutions, and ideas of their homeland, and are in the process of modifying their old culture to conform to American conditions. These natural areas transplanted from the Old World exhibit problems of exceptional interest to the sociologist, problems which are treated in this special type study because they demand their own peculiar emphasis in research.

The mosaic of cultures and cultural adjustment which America presents offers us a fruitful laboratory for research. Not only are many widely different cultures dovetailing into American life, but these numerous cultures are also adjusting to each other. For instance, the Polish groups of this country have Italian, Lithuanian, German, Irish, Slovene, and a wide variety of other cultural groups for next-door neighbors, and in the variation in types of adjustment which the Poles make to each of these different groups many aspects of Polish culture become evident. Sometimes, as in the case of the Lithuanians and Poles, associations which have existed for centuries in Europe are continued and modified by the new conditions; sometimes, as in the case of the Irish and Poles, the associations are almost entirely a product of American ex-

periences. So many variables rather obviously identified enable the sociologist to press deeper into the study of cultural processes and refine his hypotheses of group behavior.

First, second, and third generations—the original immigrants, the children, and the grandchildren of the first comers—also make it possible to trace the process of adjustment over a period of time, and thus to obtain a clearer insight into the various stages of modification and to refine statements of sociological hypotheses. In large cities one often finds areas of first, second, and third settlement of an immigrant group. Each of these settlements has its characteristic institutions and social life, representing different degrees of adjustment to American situations. As a family prospers and becomes more "Americanized" it will move from one of these areas to another, and a comparison of the different areas gives data on the processes of accommodation and assimilation.

It is always difficult to analyze one's own culture, for the social heritage in which a person grows up is so much a matter of habit and is so unconsciously accepted that its real significance is usually hidden. The striking contrasts displayed by the array of immigrant colonies in America throws into bold relief facts about human society which it would be exceedingly difficult for a person to observe through a study of his own culture alone. The precaution must always be taken, of course, to interpret this alien behavior from the standpoint of its meaning to the immigrant group, as well as from the standpoint of the meaning of the behavior to the American group. The same overt act may have a widely different significance for the two groups, and this underlying meaning must be ascertained.

Culture in the making is paraded distinctly in most natural areas of immigrant groups, and in this process of the breaking up of old habits and the development of new much can be learned concerning the operation of human societies. Conflict situations between immigrant groups, between immigrant and American groups, and between different generations of the same immigrant group make us aware of definite phases of social processes.

Before the passage of the immigration law in 1918 people of the European countries were pouring into the United States in such large numbers that natural areas with marked foreign characteristics were everywhere in evidence. In most instances people of the older immigration have taken on so many outward manifestations of American culture—dress, houses and furnishing, occupations, etc.—that one has to probe a little more deeply beneath the surface in order to identify the areas of foreign culture. Since immigrants have been admitted in such comparatively small numbers they find their way almost unnoticed into colonies which have been established for many years, where the old heritage has been so modified and where the influence of the newcomer is so slight that the disparity between American and immigrant areas which existed at the beginning of this century is no longer apparent. Cultural adjustments, however, are only the result of a very slow process, and even in these colonies of the early immigrant many of the old customs and ideas are still preserved.

The two processes of accommodation and assimilation are both found in immigrant colonies, and though emphasis has been put upon the former in this type study, many instances of assimilation will be found. Both are, of course, relative terms, and various degrees of each process can be discovered in any study.

It is a generally accepted statement that individuals raised in one culture who migrate to another can never be assimilated completely into the new culture. Usually the Old World fades more and more as time goes on, but there is always a residue of habits, ideas, points of view, and ways of doing things which are never completely changed. For this reason a great many of the adjustments which are made by immigrants who have come to America as adults are compromises or accommodations to American culture. Sufficient changes take place so that the newcomer may live under the new conditions without coming into open conflict with them, but the resultant behavior is something new, which stands between the foreign and native standards. As has been stated before, there are certain outward marks of a given culture—dress,

house and furnishings, tools, and social rituals—which newcomers take over very rapidly, but the underlying points of view and interpretations of the native land persist with surprising tenacity.

Children of immigrants, though born in this country, are raised in homes where foreign culture predominates, though often trained in schools of the new land. From their homes they receive one type of experience, from the schools and their associations with children of other groups, other types of experience, with the result that they may do one of three things: (*a*) accept one culture and accommodate themselves to the other; (*b*) accept one culture and come into open conflict with the other; (*c*) accept both cultures and slip from one type of behavior to another as they find themselves in different cultural surroundings. Assimilation is usually manifested in a higher degree in the children of immigrants than it is in the case of their parents, and in the case of the third generation the process of assimilation is almost completed.

The processes of assimilation and accommodation are found in other instances of our social life besides those in which a foreign group is making its adjustments to American conditions. The recent migrations of large numbers of Negroes, for instance, from the rural districts of the South to the industrial centers of the North are presenting some interesting demonstrations of the two processes. But this type study has been designed primarily for the study of immigrant colonies. Eventually other type studies will be made of these other problems and it will then be possible to formulate a general type study.

GENERAL PLAN OF THE STUDY

In investigating immigrant areas it has been found of assistance to divide the study into the following sections:

1. Collection and Classification of Existing Data.
2. Determination of the Habitat.
3. First Impressions of the Area.
4. Social History of the Area.
5. Accommodation Group.

6. Life-Histories of Immigrants.

7. Documentation, Analysis, and Interpretation of Data.

All these sections are, of course, so intimately related that data secured for any part will have a bearing upon the facts obtained in the other sections. Outlines for the entire study should be carefully read before intensive work is undertaken for any section.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

IMMIGRANT GROUP

ABBOTT, EDITH. *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem.* Chicago, 1926, pp. 409–532.

FAIRCHILD, H. P. *Immigrant Backgrounds.* New York, 1927 (also see other books in this series dealing with different immigrant groups).

PARK, ROBERT E. *The Immigrant Press and Its Control.* New York and London, 1922.

——— AND MILLER, HERBERT A. *Old World Traits Transplanted.* New York and London, 1921.

ROSS, EDWARD ALSWORTH. *The Old World in the New.* New York, 1914.

THOMAS, W. I., AND ZNANIECKE, FLORIAN. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.* 5 vols. Chicago, 1918–20.

ASSIGNMENT 1

COLLECTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF EXISTING DATA

PROBLEM: As in the case of the first section in Type Study No. 1 (pp. 57–59), the purpose is to become thoroughly familiar with existing data on the topic under study, and to start a bibliography and a reference file of this data. Material already collected through Type Study No. 1 should prove especially useful.

SUGGESTIONS: Immigration to this country has been so extensive and the results of the influx of millions of people with different cultural heritages has been so startling that volumes have been written upon the subject. It is, of course, impossible to summarize here the vast literature which exists on immigration, and the undertaking is accordingly confined to indicating the type of material which has most bearing upon the topic of this study, the adaptation of a given cultural group to American conditions.

The pertinent literature which is available falls into three broad classes: (A) background data concerning this cultural group in its native land; (B) general data concerning this cultural group anywhere in America; (C) specific data concerning the particular local cultural group being studied.

A. *Background data.* Grasping the background setting of a foreign culture is a difficult undertaking. Wide reading, supplemented by a first-hand study of transplanted customs and institutions, is necessary to understand even the more obvious characteristics of a foreign culture. There is usually a variation between our interpretation of a foreigner's behavior and his own interpretation of it, and it is the latter which demands a study of the cultural background.

Intensive studies of the group in its native habitat, such as that contained in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, by Dr. William I. Thomas, are necessary for an

adequate study of the foreign culture. The bibliography at the close of the previous chapter gives some of the more valuable publications containing background and general material.

The meeting of two cultures often throws into relief aspects of each which were previously unobtrusive, thus leading to illuminating discoveries. In this way background material is collected during the course of the study of a foreign group on American soil.

B. *General data.* Governmental publication, histories of different nationalities and cultural groups, and published autobiographies are the outstanding sources for information covering the United States as a whole.

1. Three governmental departments, the Bureau of Census, the Bureau of Labor, and the Immigration Commission, have prepared statistics and special studies of the various problems of immigrant groups. Nationality, in fact, has been one of the basic classifications used in federal investigations, with the result that much material can be found in all federal reports.

   These statistical data have two limitations which must be kept in mind. They are frequently classified on the basis of nationality, thus making it impossible to obtain data covering some of the foreign groups. Statistical data are often not available covering Jews, for instance, as they are classified among the Russian, German, English, etc., according to country of their birth. "Mother-tongue" has, however, been used by the census to provide statistical data not covered by "country of birth." And minority groups are classified together as "all other Nationalities," thus making it impossible to obtain separate data for certain of the smaller cultural groups.

2. There are histories of practically all the outstanding immigrant groups in America. Most of these volumes, and

especially the ones written in English, are formal histories with defensive attempts to justify the group in the mind of the reader. These accounts usually give a valuable skeleton of events, but seldom depict the actual adjustments which the group has made to American life. Data from these histories must therefore be critically handled.

3. Published autobiographies of immigrants give our most valuable data and clues, but they often have much the same shortcomings for sociological research as the histories discussed in the preceding paragraph.

C. *Specific data.* Data concerning the particular immigrant group being studied can be obtained from publications of its organizations, from the files of local newspapers, particularly foreign local papers, from publications of social agencies, and from the reports of local governmental departments. Any reference to the group should be abstracted or clipped and filed.

In general, the suggestions given for the classification of data on page 59 can be followed in this study also.

ASSIGNMENT 2

DETERMINATION OF THE HABITAT

An immigrant colony is usually one of the easiest natural groups to identify and to define territorially because of the many obvious earmarks which differentiate it from the neighboring groups. Difference in language, names of places and people, institutions, and sometimes differences in the type of housing are among the characteristics which commonly make it possible to distinguish the area through a hasty inspection. Pages 64–81 deal with the determination of natural areas, and suggestions given there can be followed in determining the habitat of the immigrant colony. Maps especially suggest the type of data which should be prepared.

ASSIGNMENT 3

FIRST IMPRESSION OF THE IMMIGRANT COLONY

For explanations of the purpose of this study, as well as for suggestions as to what to include, see pages 60–63. As an alternate study, for persons who are already familiar with the colony, an account of the significant aspects of the colony as the investigator conceives of them should be substituted. In the event that this alternative study is selected, a perusal of the entire outlines for this type study at the outset will be helpful.[1]

[1] For illustration of the alternative study, see pp. 257–60.

ASSIGNMENT 4

NATURAL HISTORY OF IMMIGRANT COLONIES

In general, the outlines for the "Natural History of a Social Area" (pp. 82–87) should be followed in this study. Some additional points for emphasis, however, can be noted.

A. If there is more than one settlement of this cultural group within the political unit being studied, a social history should be prepared for each colony. The rôles which each colony plays with respect to every other, and in relation to the rest of the town, the reputation of each colony, and its contributions to its own cultural groups should be noted.

B Any background data concerning conditions which led to immigration at different periods, and variation in members or type of people who immigrated, will prove valuable.

C. Data concerning the first-generation immigrants (those who come to this country as adults), the second generation (the children of immigrants, who are either born on American soil or were brought here at an early age), and the third generation (grandchildren of immigrants, who have been raised in "second generation" homes) should be carefully distinguished. These three groups represent distinct stages in cultural adjustment, and the attitudes of members of each generation toward the others, the degree to which each of the generations either consciously or unconsciously maintains the customs, behavior patterns, and the values of the foreign land, the relationships of each group to other native groups should be carefully distinguished.

D. Since the main interest in this type study is in the changes of customs, values, interests, and modes of behavior which a cultural group experiences on new soil, historical material bearing on these points will furnish clues for the more intensive phases of the study which follow.

ASSIGNMENT 5

ACCOMMODATION OF AN IMMIGRANT GROUP

PROBLEM: The members of an immigrant group bring with them a social heritage of customs, traditions, ideas, and interests which are often at variance wth those maintained by the new community within which they settle. In the process of adjusting to the new conditions, this social heritage is modified, and the problem is to obtain data concerning the forces which bring about this modification, and concerning the processes which ensue from these forces.

As has been stated before, the modification of old customs goes on for several generations, and the differences in the processes in each generation must be distinguished.

In the case of adults who migrate, the old culture can never be completely discarded for the new, and the process is one of accommodation.

Children of immigrant parents who are either born in this country or are brought here at an early age are influenced by the culture of their own homes, on the one hand, and the American culture with which they come in contact through school and play, on the other. If the immigrant colony maintains its own schools, or is isolated from the rest of the community, children are not as much influenced by the American culture as they might otherwise be. Often the values and customs which the child receives from his home and those which he receives in his school and play groups are diametrically opposed, and mental conflict ensues.

It is common for children of immigrant parents who live in a community in which the culture of his parent is looked down upon, or ridiculed, to break from the old cultures, usually without fully grasping the meaning of the American culture with which they come into contact. The result is that misunderstandings often arise between the child and the American community, as well as between the child and his family.

Usually the members of the third generation have become

thoroughly adjusted to American conditions and have securely attained desired status in the American group. The tendency is for them not infrequently to become interested in the culture of their grandparents. This interest is usually idealized, tinged with romance, and expressed in the revival of festive customs, handicrafts, art, folk songs and folk dances, the "ruffles" and "local color" of the old culture. Occasionally this revival of interest in the foreign culture is attained in the second generation.

The problem in this section is to (*a*) obtain as graphic and exact picture as possible of the outstanding characteristics of the foreign culture, (*b*) to obtain a correspondingly vivid picture of the impact of this culture on the new social order, and (*c*) to discover the resultant modifications.

Cultural changes occur, for the most part, so slowly that they have to be taken account of over a long period of time. Contemporary observation of adjustments should be utilized wherever possible to check the conclusions obtained from the historical account.

REFERENCES: Case, Clarence M., *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, pp. 449–81, 719–49; Davis, Jerome, and Barnes, Harry E., *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 504–15, 557–77; Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Social Relationships*, pp. 460–535; Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Study of Society*, pp. 663–784.

TECHNIQUES:

Interview (see pp. 168–79).
Observation (see pp. 161–67).
Diary (see pp. 180–84).

CASE DESCRIPTION:

A. *The foreign culture.* What are the outstanding patterns of family life? What is the rôle of the father in the family? Of the mother? What are the duties of parent to children? Children to parent? What forms of control and discipline are used in the home?

To what extent do women participate in activities outside the home? What is the attitude toward the outside employment of women? Toward women's participation in politics? In social organizations?

What is the attitude toward the education of boys? Of girls? Toward occupations of boys and girls? Concerning children's play and recreation? Health? Religious training?

What interests do the entire family share? In what common activities do they participate? What families associate intimately with one another? What outstanding rituals, celebrations, festivities are observed within the family group? How are the finances of the family handled?

What type of economic organization existed in the native land? Did the immigrants work for others, or did they own their own business or land? What customs and habits grew out of this economic system?

What are the outstanding organizations in the native communities? What spontaneous organizations existed? What are the activities of these organizations? How important were they in the life of the individual? Did membership in the organization depend upon class or family affiliations? Upon individual interests?

Attitudes toward politics and political organizations? What political questions are discussed? Idea of good government?

What handicrafts were prevalent? How important a part did music play? Is there a distinct folk music? Folk dancing? Folk art?

What collective representations arouse the group? What traditions are the pride of the group? What attributes or traits of their people do they most often stress? How do they rate their own group with respect to other groups?

Has this group been in conflict with other cultural

groups in the Old World? Has it been dominated by other groups? Has it developed a pattern for maintaining its own culture in the face of suppression? Have Old World hatreds and prejudices been perpetuated between this group and foreign groups in this country? What codes of conduct seem striking or unusual? What folkways are usually mentioned?

B. *Comparison with American culture.* What were the most apparent differences between the foreign culture and the American culture? What do underlying disparities between the two groups reveal concerning the differences in their points of view? What were the major values on which they agree? On what points has co-operation been established?

C. *Adjustments of the first generation.* Did the immigrants live in an isolated group? Who were the first native people with whom they came into contact? What interests brought them together? Did they compete with the "natives" for jobs? In what organizations did they participate? From what aspects of the social life were they excluded? With what strata of American society did they come into contact?

What opportunities did they have to assimilate those American ideas and conceptions which were most divergent from their own?

How readily did they learn to speak English? What opportunities did they have to learn the language? Were newspapers written in their own language available?

Did intermarriage take place between the immigrant and the "natives"? Between the members of the group and any other immigrant group? Between what racial, social, or vocational groups is marriage frowned upon?

What institutions did the immigrant develop? How did these differ from the institutions to which the immi-

grant was accustomed in his own land? What adaptations were made, and why?

Who were the leaders? Did friendships develop with the people in the surrounding neighborhood? Have any of the foreign customs been adapted by the Americans? Why?

With what government officials have they had most contact? What is their attitude toward American politics? How complete is their political organization? In what political issues are they interested? How do political leaders control their vote? What political organizations exist?

Has the immigrant group merged with the surrounding groups or does it still maintain its identity to a marked degree?

D. *Adaptations of the second generation.* Does the second generation consider itself "American," or does it identify itself with the nationality of the parent? Have children "Americanized" their names? Are they proud of their ancestry? How do they regard their parents?

Did the immigrant group maintain its own schools, or were the children sent to public schools? Did they have opportunities to mix with children of other immigrant groups and "Americans"?

Do the children speak the native language of their parents? Occasionally? Always in the home? Do they read this language?

What foreign customs and ideas seem to cling? What foreign ideas and customs do they most avoid? What customs or ideas have caused conflict between the parent and the children?

Are the children following the occupations of their parents?

What changes have the children brought about in the home, changes in food habits, household furnishings,

family ritual, status of the father and mother? In their own status?

Have they married within their own group, or intermarried outside the group? Do they continue to live in the colony, or have they left it? Have their parents moved with them? Are they interested in the Old Country? Are they interested in the arts, politics, or problems of the Old Country? Do they champion their parents' culture when it is ridiculed?

Have parents attempted to compel their children to observe the Old World customs and traditions? With what results?

What forces seem to have preserved the culture of the parent in the attitude of the children? What forces seem to have undermined the cultural heritages which the parents transmitted to their children?

Are the rates for crime, delinquency, divorce, desertion, or poverty higher among the foreign-born parents than among the native-born children? What inferences may be drawn from these facts?

COLLECTION OF DATA: The questions listed before are given to suggest trains of thought and indicate the type of material which is to be sought. If the study is made by a member of the group, he can usually give a great deal of material from his own experiences as well as from his observation of the experiences of others. Concrete descriptions of behavior, not mere "yes" and "no" answers to the foregoing questions, should be secured.

Many of the questions listed would arouse antagonism if asked directly. The answers must be gained, for the most part, indirectly. One of the best ways to obtain material is to induce the individual being interviewed to talk freely about life in his native land, his experiences in America, the way in which this country came up to his expectations or fell short of them, and the shortcomings or superiority of the second generation. A

genuine interest in his story will usually result in revealing data. Similar outward behavior, similar folkways or customs, frequently have different meanings for people of different cultural groups, and it is this difference in meaning which must be obtained.

Files of foreign newspapers reflect the current problems and interest at different periods and furnish much valuable material. Editorials occasionally contain worth-while data.

The history of organizations, their growth, changing interests, and functions register important steps in the adjustment of the group to American conditions.

RECORD OF DATA: Personal experiences in securing data should be recorded in a diary and every interview or conversation should be recorded separately. General impressions should also be reduced to writing.

ASSIGNMENT 6

LIFE-HISTORIES OF IMMIGRANTS[1]

PROBLEM: Through an individual's narration of his life in the Old Country and his experiences in making adjustments to American culture it is possible to approach the heart of the problem of accommodation, to obtain a clear, well-defined conception of how the process actually operates, what factors accelerate it, and what factors retard it. These personal accounts of how immigrants interpret American life, of what meaning they attach to the new customs, of the way in which these new values are incorporated into their lives and become a part of their basis for behavior, are indispensable to a thorough understanding of "Americanization." These life-histories are vital in interpreting the behavior of the immigrant.

The glimpse "behind the scenes" makes intelligible the outward behavior which is commonly observed and supplements the more formal, objective data—data such as has been collected in the first four parts of this study. Once this deeper insight into the process has been obtained, the more casual, external observations of behavior acquire a new significance, and can be interpreted in the light of the more intimate knowledge. These outward manifestations of behavior, in other words, become indices pointing to the underlying process. Life-histories of children of immigrants are also invaluable in the study of accommodation because they reveal the conflict between the two cultures and the adjustment to both cultures. Intimate pictures of the personal world of human relationships reflect group processes in a realistic manner.

REFERENCES: Case, Clarence M., *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, pp. 429–48; Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Social Relationships*, pp. 349–78; Krueger, E. T., "The Technique of Securing Life-History Documents," *Journal of Applied Sociology*

[1] For illustration of life-histories see pp. 261–65.

(March-April, 1925); Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., *Introduction to the Study of Society*, pp. 712–14, 688–97, 712–15.

TECHNIQUES:

Interview (see pp. 168–79).

Diary (see pp. 180–84).

CASE DESCRIPTION:

A. *Life-history of an immigrant.*

1. *Life in the native land.* Descriptions of family life, occupations, interests, education, dominant religious beliefs, ambitions, difficulties encountered, problems.

When did you first hear about America? What did you hear about it? What opinions were prevalent concerning America in your section of country? Did you come into contact with Americans? With friends or relatives who had been in America?

What were the immediate situations which led to your decision to come to America? What plans had you definitely formulated for your life in the new land? Could you read, write, or talk English?

2. *First impressions of America.* Relate the outstanding events in your experiences during the first few months in America.

In what way did America come up to your expectations? In what way did it fall short of your expectations? What aspects of American life disappointed you most? What aspects interested you most? What shocked you?

What changes did you notice in your countrymen who had been here some time? Did you disagree with them? Over what questions?

What American customs of dress, manners, food habits, etc., did you adopt first? What ideas different from those you already held appealed most? What modifications resulted?

3. *Subsequent life in America.* What different kinds of work have you done in America? What difficulties have you experienced in getting work? What handicaps of language, education, customs, have complicated your problems?

What Americans have you known intimately? What contact have you had with them? In what American homes have you visited? What do you think of American family life? Of the freedom given children? Of attitudes toward women?

What organizations have you joined? To what American organizations do you belong?

Which experiences stand out as the most pleasant ones you have had in America? Which ones stand out as the most unpleasant ones? What conflicts have you had with Americans? What, in your opinion, was the cause, and what was the outcome? In what way have Americans failed to understand you?

What contact have you maintained with the Old Country? Have you been back on a visit? Did things seem to be the same there as they were before you left? What American customs, conveniences, point of view, did you miss most? What old customs were you happy to experience again?

Do your people have social problems in this country which they did not have at home? Divorce? Desertion? Sickness? Difficulty with children? Poverty? How do you account for this increase? What old problems have disappeared? Why?

To what extent have you realized your ambitions in coming to America? In what respects have you been disillusioned? Do you feel at home here?

B. *Life-history of member of second generation.*

1. *Contact with the culture of parent.* What customs, beliefs, attitudes, typical of the family life of your parents' na-

tive land were maintained in your family? In what outstanding ways did your home life differ from that of American children or children of other nationality groups with whom you associated? What privileges or opportunities did your friends have which you did not? What were the attitudes of your parents with respect to these things? What things did you have which other children did not?

Do you speak your parents' language? Fluently? Do you read it? Did you attend school in which it was taught? Was it used in the church service you attended?

Were most of your friends from the same nationality group? What contact did you have with people outside that group? What was your reaction?

Did you have conflict with your parents? Over what? Where did you get your ideas on the matter? Do you still hold them? What means did your parents take to make you observe Old World customs and traditions?

COLLECTION OF DATA: Usually students investigating groups of which they themselves are members will find it possible to secure better life-histories than those who are on the outside of the group. One has to establish *rapport* with an individual before he can secure the intimate, confidential type of material which forms the central theme of a life-history. And this *rapport* usually has to be established gradually, built up out of a sharing of experiences.

The questions given merely suggest the point of view and type of material which is pertinent. The life-history may be secured by conversing with the person or by having him write his autobiography. If the latter plan is followed, a list of questions based on the preceding ones, but framed specifically, in accordance with your information concerning the person and the cultural group, should be given him as a guide, and after

the manuscript is received, the materials can be discussed with him and the gaps filled. Letters, stories, and articles which the person has written are also valuable.

If the data are obtained entirely through conversation it will be advisable to have the person narrate the story of his life with as few interruptions as possible and then to discuss specific points with him later. The appeal for co-operation can usually be made on the basis of securing the history of the experience of people of his group in America, and the interest evinced in the narrative opens the way for more intimate confidences.

In times of tension, in crisis situations, persons often reveal their attitudes, beliefs, and bases for action, giving an unusually intimate insight into their lives. For this reason court documents and the records of charity organizations and the social agencies contain snatches of life-history data which are valuable for this study.

ASSIGNMENT 7

DOCUMENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

PROBLEM: The data collected should be put into permanent form for future reference and analysis.

REFERENCES AND TECHNIQUES:

Documentation (see pp. 192–99).

Analysis and Interpretation (see pp. 200–207).

SUGGESTIONS: Additional suggestions, especially pertinent to materials collected in this type study, are as follows:

A. *Analysis of data.* Three types of material have been collected during the course of this study: (1) general and background material on the group in this country and in the mother-land, (2) material dealing with the local immigrant areas covered in the field studies, (3) life-histories collected of immigrants and their children.

The first two types of material can be analyzed in much the same manner as was suggested in Type Study No. 1 (pp. 99–100). Subheadings on the analysis chart should deal especially, however, with adjustments of the group to American life.

The analysis charts should be prepared for each of the natural areas studied, and data concerning first, second, and third generation groups should be separated.

The analysis of the life-histories should also be approached chronologically, for it is through the sequence of events and behavior that the processes of adjustment can be traced. Life-histories can be analyzed chronologically into a series of events each of which can be broken up into the following aspects:

1. *The social situation.* A description of the setting or circumstances in which the behavior took place.
2. *The behavior of the individual in the situation.*
   a) The simple, objective description of the behavior as actually occurred.

b) The interpretation of meaning of this behavior in terms of the mores or folkways of the immigrant group.

c) The interpretation of meaning of this behavior in terms of the current mores or folkways of the American group.

d) The interpretation of meaning of the behavior to the individual as indicated by his statements in the life-history.

On the basis of data collected through this study it should be possible to obtain statements of the current behavior of the local American group and of the local foreign group in certain specific situations, and then to compare specific situations and the behavior of the individual in them, as expressed in this life-history, with the standards of the two cultural groups to determine the degree of adjustments.

In an interesting study Jessie Ravitch has attempted to measure Jewish culture and adjustments to American life statistically.[1]

3. *Interpretation of data.* The main purpose of this study has been to obtain insight into the processes by which two different cultural groups adjust to one another under conditions in which one group dominates. The terms "accommodation" and "assimilation" have been used to designate the two outstanding processes involved in bringing about these cultural adjustments, and general statements and hypotheses have been advanced by many scholars concerning them. These theories are summarized in chapters x and xi of *The Introduction to the Science of Society* by Park and Burgess. Few detailed, concrete studies have been made,

[1] Jessie Ravitch, "Relative Rate of Change in Customs and Beliefs of Modern Jews," *Publications American Sociological Society of America*, XIX, 171–76.

however, and the specific facts essential to a science have not as yet been formulated.

The data collected in this study can be used somewhat as follows in considering the two processes of accommodation and assimilation:

a. The material will give the student a close-up view of the processes and will vitalize the theoretical discussion.

b. The hypotheses presented in the two chapters cited should be listed and the analysis of the case materials should be tested by the hypotheses.

c. Instances in which a hypothesis is affirmed, instances in which it is contradicted, and instances in which it is elaborated should be noted.

Old hypotheses should be revised and new ones formulated on the basis of this comparison.

Because of the lack of study of the processes of accommodation and assimilation even the elementary material collected may offer valuable modifications of the hypotheses.

B. *Listing of problems.* It is of importance that each investigator close his study with a detailed statement of suggestions as to problems, sources, and methods for further research, so that the next investigator may benefit by the experiences of his predecessor.

PART III

TECHNIQUES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

While a great deal has been written concerning the fundamental concepts of sociology and their implications for research, the points of view from which social phenomena should be studied, and the types of problems which should be solved, very little has appeared concerning the specific ways in which research can actually be conducted.

The reasons for this lack of discussion of the techniques of research are many and varied, but probably the present stage of the development of sociology is outstandingly responsible. Sociology is just emerging out of the philosophical stage, and though for some time armchair sociologists have been demanding concrete studies as a basis for sociological generalizations, as a matter of fact very few careful, thorough researches have as yet been made. The emphasis has been upon blocking out the field of the science, formulating its underlying assumptions and points of view, and defining its concepts. In instances where research has been done, the "detail" work has been disparagingly left, too often, to clerks and amateurs, with the result that the person who has planned and directed the collection of data has had only second-hand contact with the problems involved in securing it. Yet the value of the research is just as dependent upon the techniques involved in securing the data as upon the ingenuity exercised in formulating the hypothesis and interpreting the results.

The older established physical sciences present a different picture. The fundamentals of the sciences have been established, and progress now depends upon exact, refined researches. No "detail" of the process of research is beneath the personal mastery of leaders in the science. In fact the discovery and detailed development of some new procedure in laboratory technique is usually

the prerequisite to any new scientific discovery. As sociology advances in the realm of science the demand for the development of techniques and the demand for the mastery of techniques by those who call themselves sociologists will become more insistent, and leaders in the field will be accomplished technicians as well as thorough scholars.

Another important reason for the neglect of sociological research is that many of the techniques or devices used have been employed in a common-sense manner in everyday living, and the average person has some knowledge of them and is more or less proficient in their use. But these ordinary tools must be sharpened and standardized if they are to be a part of scientific equipment.

It has been customary for persons conducting social research to present their findings and a formal statement of their plans and methods in carrying on research. They seldom give a "natural" statement of their actual behavior in collecting and analyzing their data. And yet very seldom does a person finish a piece of research without stating, "If I were to do this all over again I would do it in a different way." He then proceeds to describe what he would do. In other words, the next person to undertake a similar piece of research could profit by the experiences of his predecessor, and would not have to rely on his own trial-and-error procedure to discover for himself the same things which another person has discovered before.

To be sure, much of the application of technique is an art which each individual must acquire for himself. But experiences can be formulated and pooled, and statements concerning research techniques and their use can be passed on as a heritage to others. In fact this accumulation and transmission of a heritage of experiences is an essential factor in progress. When a technique has been perfected it becomes a habit, an accurate, efficient, and reliable means of securing an end. Like other habits, it enables the person to direct his attention to new tasks. The original development of a technique, of course, constitutes a real research problem.

The formulation and standardization of research techniques does not interfere with the originality and initiative of the research worker, as is sometimes charged. It simply places at his disposal the agreement derived from the experiences of many others and enables him to exercise his own ingenuity in attaining new discoveries rather than in repeating those which have been made previously.

In the physical sciences much of the technique is crystalized, standardized, and transmitted by the use of apparatus. This is, of course, impossible in most phases of sociological research. For this reason social research workers are under obligation to make an especial effort to record their experiences in techniques and to make them generally available. In making his apparatus, the chemist utilizes principles which have been demonstrated by the physicists, and in a similar manner the sociologist must utilize principles formulated by social psychologists and other scientists in allied fields. There is probably no more work involved in either formulating or learning techniques of social research than in formulating or learning techniques in the physical sciences. But so far we have kept our eyes fastened on the results and the general mode of attack, ignoring the very important questions of technique.

Statistics are perhaps an exception to many of the foregoing statements, for statisticians have given much attention to the formulation of techniques for the analysis and interpretation of data; but even with them the technique for the collection of data has not as yet been carefully standardized.

Scientific managers, in their insistence upon "the one best way to do the job," have suggested another possibility with respect to research techniques. Not only can progress be attained by pooling experiences, but it can also be insured through analysis of the task and the study of the best way to perform each phase of it. It is true that in some instances the efficiency experts have produced absurd results, but it is even more true that this careful stock-taking of jobs and the standardization of methods of work

has made remarkable contributions to both the quality and the amount of production in business and industry. Similar careful studies of the tasks of sociological research, with emphasis upon discovering the best way to do the work, is bound to bring progress to social research. Each investigator who becomes imbued with this attitude and analyzes and experiments with his own ways of collecting and handling data will readily discover the value of a systematic attempt to perfect his methods of work. This seems a common-place statement; but many research workers neglect this painstaking effort to improve their techniques.

To a beginner in social research the mastery of techniques is as important as the acquisition of data, and as much time and thought should be put upon the one as upon the other. In the physical sciences the necessary techniques are of very little use outside of the laboratory. Many of the techniques of social research, on the other hand, can be transferred directly to the problems of everyday living, and proficiency in these techniques is a valuable asset to anyone's general equipment for life.

In the chapters on techniques which follow only a start has been made toward analyzing the task, pooling experiences, and formulating standards. All suggestions are offered only as points of departure, as statements for criticism to be added to and revised as your own experiences dictate. This critical, experimental attitude toward techniques is a necessary phase of the development of scientific procedure. And investigators must share their techniques if we are to arrive at verifiable results.

CHAPTER II

OBSERVATION

The observation of concrete cases is generally recognized as the cornerstone of scientific procedure. For all sciences seek to obtain detailed, exact statements of how the phenomena in which they are interested "behave," and on the basis of these discoveries they seek to construct scientific laws. The generalizations can be no more accurate than the observation out of which they are constructed. Scientists use the term "observation" to denote both the accurate, objective scrutiny of phenomena and the record of that scrutiny. It is the implications for sociological research of both these meanings of the term that concern us.

I. OBSERVATION AS OBJECTIVE SCRUTINY

In 1795 an assistant was dismissed from the Greenwich Observatory because his observations did not tally with those of his chief. The case received wide attention and it was subsequently proved that the differences in observations were due to the differences in the reaction time of the two men in observing and timing celestial phenomena. The further discovery was made that the "personal equation" could be computed for astronomers, that it was constant over a period of years, and that astronomical observations could be corrected by taking into account the "personal equation" of the observer.

Social psychologists have elaborated upon this personal element in observation. They state that observation is not merely a passive reception of stimuli, but that it is an act which has its source in the observer and is shaped and directed by him. His "personal equation" is the starting-point of the observation, and it influences the activity throughout. This psychological fact is of the utmost importance for scientific research, and particularly

for research in the social sciences. Its significance may be briefly summarized in the following paragraphs.

In the process of observation the person selects certain aspects of the event, and what he selects is determined by his mental background, his interests, attitudes, prejudices, etc. The background of scientific knowledge which the investigator possesses, his hypotheses upon which inferences are based, his human attitudes, and his tendency to pass moral judgments on social phenomena, all affect the validity of his scientific observations.

The background of scientific knowledge which the observer possesses has a direct bearing upon his discoveries. A botanist passing through a forest gathers facts concerning plants and trees which are unnoticed by the layman, and he sees these things because his past experiences, gleaned both from books and personal observation, are brought to bear upon the phenomena which he encounters. The broader his knowledge of his field, the more likely he is to notice the exceptions to the rule, the more unobtrusive, new facts which lead to new discoveries. Scientific observation has to be learned. The beginner in the laboratory has to learn what to look for under the microscope, and as he masters the background of the science he begins to see under the microscope hitherto obscure phenomena which prove or disprove theories which have been formulated by himself or other scientists. An artist and a sociologist will notice different aspects of a crowd, and each one will select those aspects which he has learned to recognize because of their bearing upon the problems of his field. Each may also learn something by knowing what is of interest to the other.

The scientific background of the observer has another angle which must be stated. Most treatises on scientific method warn against the danger of unwittingly mingling observation and inference. In the act of observation it is practically impossible not to "read into" the inspection an interpretation of what is actually occurring. It is for this reason that clear formulations of the underlying assumptions and the hypotheses with which the problem is approached are stated at the outset of an observation and at

subsequent stages as unexpected aspects are discovered. These exact statements of the basis upon which inference is most likely to be made enable the investigator to discount its effect upon the observation.

This tendency to project into our observations those aspects with which we are most familiar and those which fit into our scientific tenets, and to neglect the unfamiliar and those which are not in line with our pet theories, has given rise to a generally accepted canon of scientific research: "Search for negative cases, those which disprove your hypothesis as well as those which support it." For these exceptions and marginal cases cast against the background of existing knowledge lead to the more accurate restatement of old truths and the formulation of new ones.

In the social sciences, the "personal equation" of the investigator has more tendency to distort his observations than in the physical sciences. For he is dealing with phenomena which involves fellow-beings, which concern issues about which he has strongly imbedded prejudices, and toward which he finds it difficult to take a disinterested, impartial point of view. Most of these social biases are customary, unwitting reactions, so subtly buried in the depths of his personality that the observer finds it possible to detect them only through much effort.

However, the fact that the observer in the social sciences is studying his own kind, his fellow-beings, has advantages as well as disadvantages. He is dealing with problems with which he is intimately associated, and his sympathetic insight makes it possible for him to delve deeply into the heart of the problem. Out of an introspective analysis of his own behavior he gets valuable "hunches" as to the behavior of others. Using these "hunches" he is able to devise problems of research which penetrate beneath the surface into the very essence of human behavior, with the result that observations of group life may be enriched. So far, most of our illuminating discoveries in sociology have come from men who have brought introspection to bear on their own group experiences. When disinterested observation of other group be-

havior is raised to a scientific level and added to this introspective analysis of personal experiences, sociology and the other social sciences will find themselves in a uniquely fertile realm.

One other effect of the "personal equation" upon sociological observations should be mentioned. We are so accustomed to passing judgments upon human acts, labeling them as "good" and "bad" and estimating their "value," that it is difficult to cast aside the moral implications and secure an unevaluated statement of the observation. Yet this simple statement of what occurred, denuded of moral evaluations, is essential. Science is interested only in what happens and in exactly how it happens; the physical scientist never asks whether the behavior of a phenomenon is good or bad. The determination of standards of "good" and "bad" and the application of these standards to specific acts has its place in human study, but these problems fall within the provinces of philosophy and ethics, and not within the realm of sociology. This amoral or unmoral contemplation of social behavior is one of the most troublesome aspects of sociological observation which the beginner has to face. The ideal of scientific sociological observation is a detached, impersonal, objective scrutiny of group relationships. Sympathetic interpretation may point the way to new factors in the situation being studied, but these factors must then be observed in a disinterested manner.

II. OBSERVATION AS A RECORD

The scientist does not consider his observation complete until an accurate, detailed record has been made. This record contains a statement of the problem, usually in terms of a hypothesis, together with statements of the methods, techniques, and apparatus used, and the findings. This detailed account enables other investigators to repeat the observation and verify or disprove it; and this check by other investigators is the essence of scientific proof. Indeed, the detailed transcription of the observation is so commonly demanded that the term "observation" has come to mean the finished record.

In the field of sociology, where the personal equation of the investigator is even more complex and where the methods and techniques used are less standardized, it is even more important that the investigator put his observation in the form of a full, permanent record, so that others may follow step by step his procedure and his findings.

A case description, a full detailed account of the phenomena observed, prefaced by a statement of the problem and the techniques used in solving it should be made for each observation. In subsequent chapters on the diary and documentation this question of recording the results of research will be discussed in more detail.

III. CRITICISM OF AN OBSERVATION

The criticism of an observation may be made from three different aspects: the scientific validity of the observation, the contribution of the experience to the development of the research ability of the observer, and the contribution of the experience to the development of research techniques.

In general, science makes use of three tests in determining the validity of observations: (1) Is there an agreement between this observation and that reported by other competent investigators? (2) Is this observation in line with other related observations? Does it dovetail into the existing array of findings? (3) Is the observation useful, does it assist in solving pertinent problems?

This aspect of the criticism pertains to its contributions to scientific knowledge and is discussed in more detail in the chapters on case analysis and sociological interpretation.

The other two aspects of the criticism of observations, the contributions to the technique of the observer and to the general development of research techniques, are perhaps more important for the purposes of this manual. A systematic attempt to develop skill in observation will yield much to the person who spends the necessary time in studying his observations. The following lines of criticism are suggested:

1. Compare the results of your observation with those secured by another person who has witnessed the same or a similar occurrence. Note the omission of detail in your report, as well as the additional details which you have secured. What is the significance of these details from the standpoint of the understanding of group behavior? Which are essential? Which are superfluous? Study observations reported in standard sociological works and compare these with your own.

Whenever possible observe a given social situation in the company of someone who is more advanced in social research than yourself, and compare the record of your observations with the record of his.

2. Check your observations for the common biases discussed in the second section of this chapter: (*a*) Omissions or overemphasis of one phase due to the narrowness of your sociological knowledge. This should be discussed with someone who stands in advance of you in theoretical knowledge. (*b*) Examine the observation for political, religious, racial, class prejudices which may have colored the report, and attempt to purge it of these biases. Compare your observation of a political event (for example) with an observation made by another person whom you know has a different political point of view than your own. What does this comparison reveal concerning your political prejudices? In future observations be on your guard against these discovered prejudices. (*c*) Scan the record for moral judgments and substitute for these a statement of what actually happened. (*d*) Do not leave vague, generalized statements in the report. Give specific, concrete details. Too much material, rather than too little, is advisable.

The statements contained in this chapter have come out of the pooled experiences of a number of people engaged in sociological research. They should be modified and increased in the light of your own experiences.

It must always be remembered that the observation contains

the raw material of research. The value of scientific inferences depend in large measure upon the validity of the data collected.

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CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL RESEARCH INTERVIEW

In the physical sciences the investigator must rely upon observation in collecting his data, but in the social sciences another very important technique, the interview, can also be utilized. The social scientist is in the unique position of being able to interrogate his subject matter concerning the process which is taking place, thus adding a valuable check to the discovery of his facts and the formulation of his generalizations. Partly because this experiential procedure can never be a part of the scientific technique of the older sciences, and partly because it has not as yet approximated a tool of precision in the hands of the social scientists, this inner approach to the problems of human beings and human society has been challenged and sometimes banned as a scientific mode of attack. Yet this peculiar facility of the social scientist to get behind mere outward behavior and treat his phenomenon from its internal aspect should enable him to secure an approximation of accuracy that is denied to other departments of human knowledge.

The subject matter of chemistry, physics, botany, zoölogy, of almost all the realms outside of social science must be investigated in terms of an alien realm, the realm of human beings. In the social sciences the realm of the subject matter and the realm of the investigator are identical, and through the facility of communication the investigator can arrive at the heart of his subject matter. If chemical elements could discuss with chemists the processes which they undergo, how many valuable clues would the chemist secure to facilitate his research!

This ability of the objects of social research to converse with each other and with the scientific investigator is so vital a characteristic of the subject matter of the social sciences that it cannot

be disregarded in any well-rounded study. It is also a fact that cannot be overlooked, for this ability to converse makes human beings what they are; it is the reality which makes human society. The conversations of human beings are an important part of the data of social research, as well as an important part of social research technique.

We are constantly conversing with people, and through everyday experiences we learn many of the tactics that are useful in securing from them the information and the co-operative response which we desire. The interview is only a more specialized attempt to obtain efficiently through conversation the particular data which we want. Doctors, social workers, newspaper reporters, lawyers, and salesmen have developed techniques of the interview to fit their especial needs, and much that they have discovered is useful to the sociologist.

Two important types of interviews may be distinguished in social research: (1) the case study or social research interview, and (2) the questionnaire interview. The difference in their objective leads to significant variations in the techniques involved. Inasmuch as the kind of research studies presented in this volume require the social research interview almost exclusively, the discussion is confined to this technique.

I. PURPOSE OF THE SOCIAL RESEARCH INTERVIEW[1]

Thoroughness and its corollary, exhaustive exploration, are the two outstanding attributes of the case study. Likewise, thoroughness and exploration define the objectives of the social

[1] It is difficult to name appropriately the type of interview which is the subject of this discussion. From the standpoint of social research this type of interview should really be called the "case-study interview," for it is the interview employed when the emphasis is upon the case-study method. But social workers have used the term "case-study interview" so generally to apply to their technique in obtaining data from clients and handling their case work that the use of the same term in social research leads to confusion. For this reason we are employing the term "social research interview." In a broader sense, the questionnaire is also a social research interview, but we are arbitrarily limiting the term to the case-study type of social research interview.

research interview. In the social research interview the nature of the quest makes it necessary for the investigator to probe deeply into the unknown, to uncover new clues, and to open up fresh angles of his problem, as well as to secure the usual data which previous studies have demonstrated are pertinent to a given problem. The contrast between the objectives of the questionnaire interview and the social research interview reveal the significance of the foregoing statement. In the questionnaire interview the investigator has a limited number of questions specifically formulated on a schedule to which he seeks answers. In the social research interview the investigator is attempting to discover anything he possibly can concerning his problem. A definite set of questions, outlined at the beginning of the study and adhered to, would prove disastrous, for they would tend to narrow the scope of the research, closing the eyes of the investigator to important facts which lie outside the range of the specific questions. A questionnaire interview seeks information whose existence has already been discovered, but a social research interview is an adventure into the unknown, into uncharted land.

The social research interview is employed to obtain some specific dates and specific facts, the data which form the guideposts in the study of a process. But it is employed also to obtain a vivid, accurate, inclusive account of these events as they are reflected in personal experiences. Attitudes of the individual interviewed are the most distinctive contribution of the social research interview, and these attitudes are significant to the sociologist, not as individual expressions, but as representative expressions of the different groups of which the individual is a member. The observation of the individual's overt behavior reveals much to the trained observer, but the conversation with him concerning his experiences furnishes the necessary check upon these inferences.

II. THE INTERVIEW AS A SOCIAL SITUATION

Any interview constitutes a social situation between two individuals; it is a process of continuous, spiral interaction in which

one person's response to the stimulation of another in turn becomes the stimulation for another response. Thus both individuals concerned in the interview are an intricate part of the incident. But the interviewer has his specific interest, and he must perform his double function by using both the stimulation of the informant and his response to the stimulation of the informant for the purpose of furthering his research ends. The skilfully conducted interview assumes the appearance of a natural, interesting conversation. But to the proficient interviewer it is always a controlled conversation which he guides and bends to the service of his research interest.

The social psychological process of the interview makes it necessary that both persons concerned mutually respond and stimulate, the response of each in turn becoming the stimulation for the other; the social research purpose of the interview, however, demands a very different response from each of the persons concerned. Failure to reconcile these two facts seems to be an outstanding factor in most of the unsuccessful interviews which we have studied. The object of the interview is to secure the habitual reactions of the person being interviewed, to slip so completely into his world, into his universe of discourse, that he reacts naturally and freely and his usual and habitual views are expressed.

The interviewer's stimulation must as nearly as possible be confined (1) to keeping the subject relating experiences and expressing attitudes which are pertinent to the problem being studied, and (2) to encouraging the subject to express these experiences and attitudes naturally and freely. A few comments and remarks, together with an occasional question designed to keep the subject on his main theme, to secure more details at a given point of the narrative, or to stimulate the conversation if it tends to lag, are the usual means by which the interviewer accomplishes the first part of his task. Gestures, the nod of the head, smiles, facial expressions which reflect the emotions narrated are a very important factor in obtaining the second objective. For gestures

which respond to the recital of the person interviewed encourage his continuance, give him a free reign to tell his story in his own way, and do not interrupt his chain of thought. They also aid the interviewer in escaping pitfalls; if the response is put into language it can more often lead to disagreement and misunderstandings which break the *rapport* between the interviewer and his subject. Gestures economize time and insure the greater part of the interview being spent in expressions from the person being interviewed, and this fact, too, makes their use an important one.

Turning from a general discussion of the interview, we can consider the social research interview more minutely. For convenience it can be analyzed into three sections: the initial contact, the interview proper, and the completion. Each of these sections has its particular function and technique.

III. THE INITIAL CONTACT

This phase of the interview belongs primarily to the interviewer. Through it he must inform the person interviewed of the purpose, enlist his interest and co-operation, and launch him upon his narrative. In an informal interview, one which takes the form of a casual conversation, the interviewer conceals his real purpose in the approach, "picks up a conversation," and "draws out" the subject on the relevant points. This type of an interview is very significant for social research since it forms one of the best approaches to the individual, one which leads to natural, uninhibited responses. But it is often necessary to approach the individual formally to secure desired information, and in this type of interview the approach is a matter of considerable importance.

In the formally sought interview the investigator must state his purpose. This statement of purpose varies with each interview, for in order to secure co-operation the purpose must be stated in terms of the attitude of each person interviewed. A busy business man must be approached differently from an old resident who is no longer employed, and the purpose of the study must be stated differently to each of these individuals. Data secured

beforehand concerning the interests, hobbies, points of view, and biases of the person to be approached aid the interviewer in so stating his purpose that it will receive the heartiest response from the subject. Where such data are unavailable, the interviewer must begin cautiously, take his clues from the responses of the person interviewed, and expand on the statement of his purpose in the light of these discoveries. The sympathetic understanding of the informant determines the investigator's rôle.

The subject must be made to feel that the aim of the research is worth while, that the investigator is competent, and that he is handling the problem professionally. He must be made to feel that he has something worth while to contribute. This recognition of the informant's importance creates a status for him which is one of the most valuable assets in conducting the interview. Phrases such as "There are few who can give us this material"; "Only you can give us this important data"; "We have searched and searched for this information, but have been unsuccessful"; or "Mr.——— told us you know more about this than anyone else" are often the best keys to unlock the subject's treasure chest. The feeling that the interview is being forced upon the informant or that the investigator is prying into his private affairs must be avoided, and he must be made to feel that his aid is eagerly sought, but not demanded. He must also be made to feel that any statements which he desires to have treated confidentially will be guarded, and he should be told what disposition is to be made of the data which he contributes. The current mores and situations in a group always dictate additional principles which must be observed.

Because of its scientific purpose the social research interview has some intrinsic advantages which can be capitalized in making the approach. The scientific purpose insures impersonal interest concerning the person interviewed, the investigator's ultimate consideration being, not with the informant as an individual, but with the informant as a member of a group, as a human being who has participated in a phase of social life which the investigator is interested in studying. He is also concerned with the subject's

experiences and attitudes as they actually have occurred or exist, and does not wish to reform him, enlist his support in this or that enterprise, or change his point of view. The fact that he has no "axe to grind" other than that of securing an accurate account for scientific purposes usually goes a long way toward obtaining a frank, open atmosphere together with a minimum of defensive, guarded reactions on the part of the informant. The scientific purpose and the professional attitude of the investigator lends a dignity to the interview which aids *rapport*. The genuine participation of the interviewer in this scientific purpose and outlook is one of the surest safeguards in shaping his technique. There is always an outstanding danger that the immature investigator may confuse the forced, "high-brow" approach for the simple, direct, genuinely scientific mode of attack. It is surprising how quickly the average person will respond to the genuinely scientific attitude of an investigator and make an effort to give accurate, revealing statements.

Through the initial contact the stranger who knocks at the door must be converted into the accepted listener seeking valuable research data, while the doubtful person who answers the door must have become the willing talker, convinced of the stranger's mission, and aroused to relating his own experiences. These changes must be wrought by the interviewer who makes interest in the subject's experiences the common meeting ground and applies his knowledge of human nature to create the mental release which he desires in his subject.

IV. THE INTERVIEW PROPER

This phase of the interview has two widely different steps. At the outset of the interview proper the investigator attempts to secure the informant's own narrative. Then he resorts to questions in order to obtain more details, to verify statements made by this or other informants, or to obtain data which will enable him to evaluate the informant's statements.

The first step belongs outstandingly to the person interviewed.

It is his narrative, told in his own way, encouraged by responsive gestures and occasional comments on the part of the investigator. If the conversation lags, if it begins to wander into obviously unpertinent channels, or if it turns to needless repetition, the investigator must use questions and comments to control its course. But the objective is to reduce such interruptions to the minimum.

The research interviewer's detachment as a scientific investigator is noticeable, especially at this stage of the interview. It is demonstrated when he fails to become aroused or angry if the subject expresses an opinion contrary to his own or criticizes adversely something which he holds in high esteem. This detachment is a safeguard against distorting the story of the person interviewed, against causing him to express himself in the terms of the interviewer. Gestures again are an asset to the interviewer, for they assist in maintaining the detached attitude, and give time for the mental gymnastics essential in maneuvering the interview.

While the interviewer's overt rôle in the interview at this time is that of a sympathetic participant who enters into the conversation sufficiently to keep it moving along lines which feed his research, his subjective rôle throughout the informant's narrative is that of a detached scientific observer, critically examining the data which he is securing, comparing it with other data, on the alert for clues, feeling himself into the situations described, and then examining them to discover what salient facts seem lacking, and testing hypotheses also in order to decide what additional data should be secured. The background of knowledge of his problem which the research worker brings to his interview determines to a large extent the success of the conference. For this reason it is essential that the investigator secure all the data possible from existing records and casual conversations, as well as theoretical treatises, before he resorts to the interview.

After the informant has given his story the interviewer begins on a cross-examination by asking a series of questions. He still strives to maintain the informal, conversational situation, but he directs it to obtain certain specific material.

He is interested in securing fuller information with regard to: (1) new, unexpected aspects which the informant has just touched upon; (2) statements of the informant which contradict data that have previously been secured; (3) certain dates or locations that are needed to place material exactly; and (4) the informant's associations and biases—such data as will make it possible to evaluate the personal equation of his statements. Questions may also be used to refresh a person's memory with respect to some event that he has omitted from his narrative, or to check the validity of his memory for dates and events by asking him about data that are a matter of record and comparing his statement with the recorded fact.

If the interview is reported in the first person, in the actual phrases and language used by the informant, it will furnish better data for scientific analysis. When the research worker makes the report in his own terms, when he translates the expressions of the informant into his own language or summarizes them in trite generalizations or common concepts, he makes a less objective record. For his interpretation has so transformed the original narrative that it has lost its exactness, and though the investigator may be able to recall the exact occurrence, no one else can have access to it in order to check new data.

Because of the exploratory nature of the research the interview proper must be highly flexible, adapted to secure a wide variety of data from a wide variety of subjects, and molded spontaneously to meet the immediate situation. Principles of the technique, formulations regarding types of people, types of situations, and types of data all assist the interviewer in handling his job efficiently.

V. COMPLETION OF THE INTERVIEW

The final part of the interview again overtly reverts to the interviewer. The human laboratory within which the social investigator works must be carefully preserved for further research. Every interview should be closed with the latchstrings out, with

an invitation to return again for additional data. For as the research continues it is frequently necessary to go back to a person who has already been interviewed to secure additional data concerning some phase of the problem which has been opened up by a subsequent interview. Names of other persons to be interviewed as well as information concerning their interests and peculiarities which will assist the research worker in conducting an interview can be obtained.

VI. RECORD OF THE INTERVIEW

As in the case of an observation, the interview is of little value in research until it has been recorded and made accessible to other research workers. Usually a minimum of notes should be recorded during the interview, jottings of dates, names, phrases, and words which will be of help in recalling the conversation. Each interview should be recorded in a separate document as soon as possible after the interview has been made, before the experience has "gone cold." This immediate recording of the interview insures a more accurate and fuller account, one which yields the most for research purposes. The putting of the interview into permanent form is discussed in detail in chapter vi on "Documentation."

The use of mechanical devices to record interviews, devices such as the dictograph and the motion-picture machine, will make it possible to obtain exact reproductions of interviews, reproductions which can be studied and analyzed and made to contribute much to the formulation of principles of social psychology as well as principles of interviewing. So far no extensive use has been made of these mechanical devices, and their use should, of course, be confined to the study of the interview and to exceptional research studies.

VII. TYPES OF SOCIAL RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

Anyone making social research interviews realizes that there are many different types: the formal interview, the informal in-

terview, the initial interview, the repeated interview with the same person, the interview with strangers, friends, or acquaintances, the interview concerning historical material, the interview concerning contemporary events, the interview dealing with controversial subjects, the interview dealing with intimate personal experiences, and so on. Each of these types of interviews requires its own tactics, though in general all of the research interviews have certain fundamental underlying characteristics in common. The analysis of these different types of interviews on a functional basis and the formulation of principles in terms of the underlying social psychology still remain undone, and the chapter on techniques of interviewing will remain incomplete until this more detailed analysis has been made.

VIII. TRAINING IN INTERVIEWING

In the foregoing paragraphs the analysis and formulation of experiences in interviewing which we have made to date are presented; presented with the knowledge that the study of the interview has but begun. The purpose in passing on this incomplete material is simply to offer a point of departure. By making a systematic study of his own interviews, observing conversations, and experimenting with conversations as well as with research interviews, the student in social research can discover for himself some of the underlying principles and make contributions to the formulation of this research technique. Everyone who interviews profits more or less by his own experiences and learns to do the job more efficiently. But as in the case of all of the social research techniques, knowledge should be accumulated and disseminated, in order to prevent the repetition of the same mistakes and aid each person in the development of his own technique of interviewing.

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CHAPTER IV

THE DIARY

The diary, a daily personal record of events, has recently come into use in sociological research for a number of different purposes. Chief among these uses have been the following: (1) diaries have been used as the raw materials of research; (2) diaries have been used by research workers to record miscellaneous materials which they have accumulated from time to time during the progress of a study; (3) diaries have been used also to record daily experiences, problems, and discoveries which the investigator has made with respect to research techniques and methods. All these attempts to make the diary serve the purposes of sociological research are still in a pioneer stage, with the result that only very brief statements can be formulated concerning them. Before examining the different ways in which the diary has been employed, however, it might be well to consider the outstanding characteristics of a diary.

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DIARY

There are a number of characteristics of the diary which makes it of value in sociological research. It is a daily record, and as such gives a continuous, chronological account of events as they occur. This makes it possible to trace processes, to trace step by step the sequences of behavior, together with the changing factors in the situation. The daily record is also one that is written within a short time after the event occurs. Canons of historical criticism state that one of the factors in determining the value and reliability of a document is the length of time which has elapsed between the event and the record of it, those records being considered more authentic which are written nearest to the date of the occurrence of the event. For this reason the diary record is useful in sociological research. It usually contains a fuller, more accurate state-

ment than records which are made later, when points of importance have been forgotten and when the past is likely to be interpreted in the light of the present attitudes of the writer.

A diary is considered a personal record, and as such it contains "natural" statements of behavior. The person feels free to cast aside conventions and write in an intimate, unrestrained manner concerning his experiences. Formal statements are replaced by individual expressions, so that a vivid account is given of events as they happened. Different types of individuals write different types of diaries, to be sure, and some of these daily records, like the now popular "line a day," are little more than jottings of a few disconnected words. But the essence of the diary may still be considered its intimate, informal portrayal of individual experiences.

Material used for research has to be in written form, and the diary fulfils this requirement. It has the added advantage of having been written by the individual whose experiences are being recorded, thus eliminating the filter of a second person. This fact may mean also that details in which a sociologist is interested will be omitted by the person who writes the diary, but if the record can be supplemented by interviews this difficulty can be overcome. Most accounts which individuals write of their experiences have a tendency to conform to the formal standards of literary composition. But the attitude toward the diary, the conception of it as an intimate document in which the individual can express himself untrammeled by rules and regulations, makes it a fruitful source for sociological data.

II. THE DIARY AS SOCIOLOGICAL MATERIAL

Autobiographical material has always been of interest to the average reader because of the glimpses which it gives into the lives of others and because of the insight which it gives into human nature in general. Sociologists have utilized autobiographical documents to obtain an insight into the group associations, customs, social adjustments, group standards, social control, and a

wide variety of phenomena by obtaining an intimate picture of the effect of groups upon individual lives. Diary material is one of the most difficult kinds of autobiographical material to obtain, but in the relatively few instances where it has been secured, interesting analyses have been made of it. Very little use has been made of this kind of diary material in the type studies which are presented in this volume.[1]

III. THE DIARY OF THE RESEARCH WORKER

The personal record which the research worker himself compiles of his own experiences has proved one of the most important contributions to the development of research techniques. Because this record must be continuous, vivid, expressive, and informally written it has, for want of a better term, been called a "diary." The personal record of the investigator may contain two types of material: (1) miscellaneous data and information pertaining to the subject under consideration; (2) the experiences of the investigator in the application of research methods and techniques. Both of these accounts may be kept on dated loose slips which can be sorted by subjects to furnish data on different aspects of the study or different techniques and methods, or the slips can be arranged in chronological series to give a natural history of the progress of the investigation.

When one is working upon a research problem he usually breaks it up into a number of different phases and at any given time he is usually concerned predominantly with one of these aspects. But social reality never presents itself in fragments, and a great deal of miscellaneous material is constantly discovered. References to other documentary material, to people who can be interviewed, to new aspects of the problem to be considered, and stray facts concerning other phases of the study should be recorded from time to time as they are found. In addition to these miscellaneous materials dealing with the concrete data of the prob-

[1] See *Suicide* by Ruth Cavan, and *Family Disorganization* by Ernest Mowrer for this use of the diary.

lem, theoretical materials are also accumulating from time to time which should be reduced to writing; new hypotheses and new theories gleaned from books and discussions with fellow-workers, as well as the investigator's "hunches," make significant records. This store of miscellaneous materials represents the outposts of the research work, and upon its richness depends much of the progress of the study. Research workers always profit more or less by information such as is described in the foregoing, but the fullest benefit accrues when these data are not left to memory but are reduced to writing from day to day and made a matter of permanent record.

In Type Study No. 2 the diary of the miscellaneous materials forms the backbone of the study. A relatively small, definitely limited group is selected for observation and a running record is kept of all phases of group behavior as they are observed. From time to time different aspects of the group are selected for intensive study, but the contemporary record of group interaction is the underlying theme. In exploratory studies, where the individual is feeling every step of his way and blazing his own trails, as is true in research, the diary record of miscellaneous materials is indispensable.

The research worker's personal record of his experiences in applying sociological methods and techniques will give a picture of how an investigation is actually carried on. The student's record of his experiences makes it possible for the instructor to discover what difficulties are being encountered. In the physical sciences the instructor can observe the student's performance in the laboratory, but in the social sciences this is not always possible. A third person observing an interview, for instance, so changes the social situation that the interview becomes a very different type of experience. For this reason it is almost imperative that the detailed description of what was done accompany the statement of the findings.

This personal record of research experiences also focuses attention upon the way in which the investigation is being conduct-

ed, enabling the investigator to analyze his difficulties and watch his own progress. A person usually profits more or less by his mistakes, but when a systematic effort is made to study each experience in order to determine the strong and weak points, progress is usually accelerated. A diary record makes it possible for the research worker to compare his experiences with those of others, to receive criticism from someone who has had more research experience, and to analyze his own problems. As in the case of any research document, the diary should contain as accurate an account of the behavior which took place as can possibly be recorded. Collections of personal experiences from the diaries of research workers also make it possible to pool experiences, formulate statements of techniques and methods, and criticize techniques and methods which have already been formulated. It is to such records that we must turn to develop higher standards in research practice.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL RESEARCH MAP

For many years maps have been one of the most important techniques employed in presenting research data. Through the use of maps many of the results obtained in a social survey can be so vividly and graphically portrayed that social investigators have found maps indispensable in presenting their findings to communities for the purpose of obtaining action. While maps are also useful to the sociologist in exhibiting many of his facts, they are even of more service as a part of his working technique for locating his problem and for analyzing and discovering relationships in data. It is with this latter application of maps that this chapter is concerned.

I. THE USE OF MAPS IN RESEARCH

Plotting cases of social phenomena on a map according to the locality in which they occur is one form of statistical procedure for classifying large numbers of cases. The spot map classifies the data spatially, making it possible to discover the location of phenomena and the patterns of their distribution. By the use of a map it is also possible to bring the phases of group life which are being studied into juxtaposition with other social phenomena, thus classifying many different types of phenomena into the constellations in which they occur, and suggesting possible relationships between them. In addition to classifying data spatially it is also possible to classify it chronologically, obtaining a picture of the movements through space of social phenomena during a period of time. Each of these uses of maps has a place in social research.

II. MAPS SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF DATA

The simplest use of the map consists in plotting data on a background that contains merely sufficient markings to identify

the exact location of each case, markings of streets, rivers, transportation lines, etc. When a large number of cases of a given social phenomena occur, this plotting is an important device, for it enables the investigator to size up the mass of material quickly and to see at a glance where cases are most prevalent and where he must turn in order to make his more intensive studies. The location of the habitat, in other words, is one of the first steps in conducting a research problem.

The scattered cases which appear on the map just described are also significant for the investigator. They usually point to: (1) old areas where the social fact being plotted is disappearing; and (2) new areas where the social fact being plotted is just becoming established. These isolated cases make it possible to predict the future of the natural areas in which they appear, and they indicate areas of change. In the new areas the investigator can often obtain unusually significant material, for he can discover the initial stages of the process and the map enables him to locate the areas before most people are aware of their existence.

This simple spot map can also be used to discover the natural area of an institution by plotting its membership. Overlapping between institutions, areas with a dearth of organizations, and the persistence of old institutions when members have moved away but return long distances to attend meetings are some of the aspects represented by a map of this type. If the nationality of the members of the institution is plotted along with the residence, the map may be used as an indication of nationality groupings in the area being studied.

In comparing the plottings of the same social phenomena in different cities or villages one is impressed by the fact that the spots on the map seem to assume characteristic geometric forms, and that from these patterns certain facts can be inferred concerning the characteristics of the phenomenon itself. This discovery suggests the possibility of eventually using map distributions as indices of social phenomena.

III. MAPS SHOWING CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DATA

By plotting data upon a map it is possible to bring into juxtaposition to it: (1) data which are represented on the base map and (2) other sociological data which have been plotted. The discovery of these constellations of social phenomena within the same area suggest either possibilities of relationship between the phenomena depicted or the mutual dependence of these phenomena upon common underlying factors.

The consideration of the correlation of data brings into the foreground the question of a base map. A social research base map, as has been pointed out by Young and others who have discussed its characteristics, may contain two types of data: (1) the usual map markings which designate locations, and (2) fundamental basic facts of the physical and social environment which have an underlying relationship to nearly all social phenomena. It is the second type of data which distinguishes the social research base map from others of the same locality.

As is true with any map, the social research base map must furnish the labels which make it possible quickly and accurately to determine location. Streets, rivers, railroads, boulevards, and other features of the environment commonly used to describe location are necessary. These features are also characteristics of the physical environment which act as forces in sorting the population into natural areas, and there is a significant correlation between them and the social phenomena which is plotted. In addition to the usual physical features, markings to show the zoning of land for different purposes, the location of residential, railroad, industrial, and business property, vacant areas, and topographical elevations have been found of value on social research base maps.

The common physical and social features of the environment, those aspects which we want to correlate again and again with different kinds of social data, can be depicted in a series of base maps. The density of population of various sections can be indicated by background shadings or colorings, and by plotting the

distribution of a social phenomenon upon this base the correlation between the density of population and this social fact can be perceived readily. In a similar manner base maps can be constructed to show the distribution of nationalities, land values, rentals, business, religious groups, social centers, and occupations.

In addition to correlating social and physical features represented on a base map with the particular phase of social life which is being studied, it is also possible to correlate the plottings of different social data to discover constellations. Juvenile delinquency, divorce, suicide, and members of boys' gangs, for instance, can be plotted on a series of base maps. Closed curves around the concentrations of dots can then be made on each map to show the natural areas of the phenomena which are depicted. These outlines of natural areas can be traced upon another base map, using different colors for each phenomenon, and the natural areas compared to determine whether or not they coincide. The scattered cases of each phenomenon can also be noted to determine whether there are movements in the same or in opposite directions.

IV. MAPS SHOWING MOVEMENTS AND TRENDS

Maps may be used for plotting the location of a given social phenomenon at different dates. Movements thus traced often give clues either to a change in the phenomenon itself, or to change in the social environment of the different localities in which it is found.

One caution must be observed in plotting the location of phenomena over periods of time. The conditions of the environment represented by the base maps are accurately depicted for the year in which the base was constructed, but changing conditions often make these maps inaccurate for other years. This fact must always be kept in mind when the phenomena of different periods are placed on the same base maps. For example, in plotting the home of the family of a delinquent boy in 1915, 1920, and 1925, the map of 1925 used as a base may show that the family has always moved onto a traffic street, whereas the surface lines

showing on the map of 1925 may not have existed at the time the family lived on the streets in 1915 and 1920, and the family may in reality have been moving to escape residence on a traffic street.

V. THE MAKING OF SOCIAL RESEARCH MAPS

Nowhere can the significance of the pooling and formulating of research techniques be demonstrated more tangibly than in the map room. Unless presented with a statement of past discoveries, persons will waste an almost endless amount of time in discovering by trial and error the best way to present their materials. The development of new methods in map work will always require experimentation, and in any plotting of facts new combinations of old techniques and methods are always required. But experience has shown that there are certain "do's and don't's" which, if handed to the newcomer in written form and studied by him, will prevent needless experimentation and sheer waste of time.

Books on drafting and graphic presentation, a brief bibliography of which are presented at the end of this chapter, are indispensable to a thorough study of the technique of map making. The plotting of social research data, however, presents its own problems, and a few general statements can be made which will be of service to the student who wishes to make his own work maps:

1. If a large number of cases are to be plotted it will save time in the end to transfer the necessary data of each case to a card. These cards can then be sorted and classified to facilitate spotting. For example, if cases are to be plotted on a city map the cards should be arranged by streets, and numerically within each street classification. If many different symbols are to be used, additional cross-classification can be made on this basis. Classification by cards also reveals the degree of saturation—the minimum, average, and maximum number of cases that will have to be plotted at a given point on the map—and thus indicates the scale of the base map and the size of the symbols that can be used.

2. All plotting should be carefully checked. The first plotting

can be done in pencil, and if the cards are numbered and the numbers entered on the map in the original plotting, checking is facilitated. In the case of work maps the numbers should be entered permanently.

3. The title and key are important parts of a map. They should contain exact and concise statement of data plotted, source, period covered by data, accurate and concise description of cases represented by each symbol, and date and name of person doing the plotting. A map is not complete until the legends have been added.

4. Symbols, seals, colorings, cross-hatching, or shadings may be used separately and in combination to plot the cases. Many variations of these methods of plotting are possible; facility in plotting and clearness in results are two objectives that should determine which method is selected. If many cases are to be plotted, time spent at the outset in experimentation with different possibilities may well be justified. Experience indicates that for photostating, photography, or making cuts, colors should be avoided.[1]

5. There are many tools that expedite the work: lettering pens, spotting pens, section liners, map measures, etc.; and if many maps are to be made an initial outlay for equipment reduces the final cost of the series.[2]

VI. INTERPRETATION OF MAPS

It is one task to make a map; it is another task to read it, extracting the significant relationships and implications which are thrown into relief. The first step in interpretation is to formulate accurate statements describing the various facts presented on the map. All other available data bearing on these facts should then be sought: maps on which other social data have been plot-

[1] The Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E. Twenty-second Street, New York City, has prepared social map symbols; these are fully described in a booklet which it issues.

[2] Keuffel and Esser, New York, and Eugene Dietzgen Company, Chicago, are two firms that sell these special drafting devices.

ted, statistical materials, documents, and personal observations. Accurate statements of this additional data may then be carefully compared with the statements formulated from the map which is being interpreted.

In interpreting a map it is important to keep in mind two distinct categories: (1) the conclusions which are substantiated by the data of the map or by the other data which are correlated with them, and (2) the conjectures and hypotheses which arise and require more intensive investigation before they can be accepted.

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CHAPTER VI

DOCUMENTATION

Documentation is the process by which the social research case material is put into permanent form so that it may be used by other research workers. This case material will consist of (1) interviews, (2) observations of the investigator, and (3) copies of existing records such as letters, diaries, manuscripts, old newspaper articles, and old books; materials which are difficult to obtain, rare, and not generally accessible. In the case of the last type of record a full statement of the source and a copy of the material completes the account. The task of documenting observations and interviews adequately is more difficult, and it is with these types of documents that this chapter deals.

In discussing the final report of observations and experiments in the physical sciences Professor E. H. Hall states that "the record should tell a plain tale to people who are not present when the record is made,"[1] and this statement also defines the objective of documentation. A carefully prepared record is the indispensable final step in the preparation of any scientific data.

In most of the physical sciences the final report follows a generally accepted form, thus making it possible for all who read the record to readily comprehend its exact meaning. Reports of experiments, for instance, usually state the problem, the apparatus, and the method used, the results obtained, and the interpretation of those results. Standard apparatus, common techniques, established terminology, and the reduction of the number of variables involved by means of control make it possible for the physical scientists to write concise, clear-cut reports.

Records of interviews and observations obtained in the type

[1] Hall, *The Teaching of Physics*, quoted in F. W. Westaway, *Scientific Method*, p. 381.

studies of this volume cannot be handled in the same brief, exact manner, for the exploratory nature of the material makes it more voluminous and varied. The fact that the emphasis here is upon blocking the broad, general aspects of human associations rather than with handling minute, specific details of association is another reason why the social research documents differ from the records of the physical scientists. Lack of generally accepted terminology as well as standardized techniques makes it necessary for the research worker to describe procedure and findings exactly in lengthly paragraphs rather than in simple phrases, thus adding materially to the size of the document. Undoubtedly one mark of the development of sociology as a science will be the compilation of generally understood research documents which approximate scientific records in exactness and conciseness.

Just because it is difficult to reduce the exploratory case study material to scientific records the question of documentation must be carefully considered. In analyzing the function of the documents in certain research projects in which many investigators have participated, where the findings secured by one person have been placed at the disposal of all, the following prerequisites of a document have been evident: (1) Uniformity, in order that the documents can be compared quickly and accurately, and in order that they may be readily classified. (2) The statement of facts concerning the informant and the conditions under which the document was secured in order that anyone can critically evaluate it. (3) A full, accurate account of the findings. (4) The investigator's own criticism of the document.

In order to meet these four specific demands, as well as the general objectives of scientific recording which are discussed at the beginning of this chapter, a form for documentation has been developed. A face sheet or introductory caption, a statement of the problem, a statement of the technique employed, a full presentation of the data, and a criticism of the data constitute the important sections of the document. Each of these parts will be considered briefly.

I. THE FACE SHEET

Certain identifying data which make it possible to determine the nature of the document quickly should appear either on a separate face sheet at the beginning of the document or at the top of the first sheet. (1) The name of the study, (2) the number of the document, (3) the name of the investigator, (4) the name of the informant and a brief statement concerning him, (5) the topics or phases of the study which are covered by this particular document, (6) the date of the interview, and (7) the conditions under which an observation was made are items that have been found of use in this introductory caption. If this information is presented in the same way for each document, following a standard form, the documents can be readily handled and compared.

Some of the data contained in research documents is of such a confidential nature that it must be carefully guarded and put at the disposal only of competent research investigators. Such documents should be conspicuously marked "Confidential" and kept in locked files in order to avoid unpleasant situations which close the doors upon further research. If the document is to be placed in open files for general use it is almost necessary to keep the name of the informant in a confidential key and merely make descriptive statements concerning him on the document.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The formulation of the problem in writing clarifies the objectives of research for the investigator and also leaves a record of the purpose and scope of the investigation for anyone else who may wish to make use of the documents. This statement of the problem can usually be made at the beginning of a set of documents, and only when a marked deviation in the investigation was made in obtaining the material for any one document is it necessary to make a new statement of the problem. Outlines, type studies, hypotheses, and questionnaires which give the point of view from which the data are gathered should be preserved as a permanent part of the record. As was pointed out in the chapter

on "Observation," the filter through which the investigator looks at his phenomena determines to a large extent the character of his findings, and a description of it should be available for anyone who may want to use the material.

III. STATEMENT OF TECHNIQUES

At the present stage of the development of research techniques little can be reported on this phase of the study as it pertains to each particular document. And yet some clue as to the type of interview technique employed is often as significant in using a document as it is to know whether a Fahrenheit or centigrade thermometer was employed to obtain the results in a given laboratory experiment. An experienced laboratory worker can tell through a glance, of course, which type of thermometer was used, but interviewing is still in such an unstandardized stage that little can be gleaned from the material as to the type of interview which was made. The research worker's diary, of course, furnishes the best information concerning the techniques used, and cross-references to it in this section will increase the value of the document.

IV. THE DATA

A full, accurate record of the relevant data constitutes the main part of the document. The sociologist is interested primarily in documents in which a process can be traced step by step, in all its details. For this reason documents on contemporary or recent events which the investigator constructs for himself are the most significant sources of data. Historians rely mainly upon existing documents, documents often written by people untrained in analyzing the situations which they describe, with the result that much data which modern, synthetic historians want is lacking in the record. The sociologist who makes his own records by interviewing or observation can get much more accurate data, since he can observe behavior at first-hand. And after getting an informant's account of events he can, by cross-questioning, make the informant expand the narrative to include all important phases

which were omitted from the original account. If the stories of two persons vary, or if the investigator's own observations do not tally with the account given by another person, he can re-question until he ascertains the reason for the discrepancy. Data which the average informant would consider insignificant, but which are necessary for research purposes, may also be obtained by interviewing and observation, thus enabling the research worker to make his document approach perfection.

Because of the exploratory nature of the documents required by the type studies of this volume, an over-abundance rather than a scarcity of data is sought. Marginal material which opens up new aspects of the problem often appears in a fragmentary way and only takes on its full meaning after the study has progressed and additional facts appear in other documents to which the fragment stands in the relationship of a connecting link. If this material is discarded when it is obtained, important clues are destroyed.

Observations and interviews should be recorded concretely and precisely, preserving the original phrases, expressions, and actions of the persons studied. The sequence in which the narrative was repeated or the succession in which the events took place should be preserved also, since the context often influences the meaning profoundly. Skilled research workers are able to rearrange the data obtained in interviews so that remarks concerning one topic may be grouped together without losing the implications contained in the original sequence, but the beginner will find it of value to preserve the sequence of the conversation or other behavior as it took place.

V. CRITICISM OF DATA

The social research investigator who secures his data directly at its source and then documents it is in a position to make a further contribution by appending his own criticism of this data. His evaluation of the observation or interview are an important phase of the permanent record. He may (1) present the material

which he secures in exactly the form in which he obtained it and follow this presentation by his criticism, or (2) he may present only the account after he has criticized it, corrected it, and expurged it of its unreliable data. The first method of handling his material is the one recommended, as it insures the complete account which enables another investigator to check the material step by step.

Suggestions as to the criticism of observations may be found on pages 165–66. And in addition to these, statements may also be included of (1) the circumstances under which the observation was made, (2) the immediate and the more remote setting of the event, (3) the relationship of the observer to the situations described, and (4) information concerning the participants which will give more insight into their rôles in the group. In instances where the investigator observes behavior and then supplements his observations by discussing the behavior with the persons concerned, discrepancies in accounts can be explained.

Interviews require even more criticism on the part of the investigator, inasmuch as they are indirect accounts, based on experiences and observations which the investigator has not witnessed himself. The volume, *The Introduction to the Study of History*, by Charles V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos, and especially the section of it which deals with internal criticism, contains instructions that are useful in evaluating interviews. In addition, the following list indicates "distortions" in data which are often detected by the investigator and which should be noted in the criticism:

1. The informant sometimes makes defensive statements to maintain his status in the eyes of the investigator, to justify himself through rationalizations, or to protect his group from the possible adverse criticism of the stranger who is seeking information. Frequent repetition of explanations, or elaborate explanations are indicative of this type of "false statement." These so-called "false statements" are valuable as facts, but the criticism is also a necessary part of the record.

2. There is sometimes a discrepancy, not defensive in character, between the informant's alleged attitude or his opinion and the attitude which leads to action or determines his behavior. Both of these opinions and attitudes are important, however, as opinions are responsible often for the individual's reputation in a group and may be as potent forces in molding events as though they corresponded with his attitudes or actual tendencies to action. Yet it is important to know when an opinion is being stated and when a habitual mode of behavior is being described. This check is usually obtained through interviews with other persons concerning the same social situation.

3. Mistakes in memory occur, and where these can be checked by other materials a note giving the correct data should be added to the document. This precaution is necessary, especially if the false statement has gained adherents and the question has become a matter of controversy.

4. The reliability of the informant as an observer can be checked by asking him a few questions to which answers have already been established definitely through previous interviews or through existing documents, and then comparing his answers with the established fact.

5. Biased statements due to prejudice can often be detected by the investigator. Interests, emotions, and feelings which are associated especially with conflict situations often color the statements of the narrative, destroying its "truth." When the investigator is in possession of information which enables him to point out and explain these biased statements his information should be made a part of the permanent record. The prejudices are in themselves very significant data, since they indicate group frictions, but the point is that it is important to know whether a statement is a prejudice or an unbiased fact.

6. There is a tendency on the part of the person giving a historical narrative to romance about "the good old days," throwing a glamor over the account and omitting unpleasant experiences.

This rosy picture can usually be readily recognized and must be discounted.

In short, any "sidelights" which the investigator has at his command, any means that he has of evaluating the data, should be added as criticisms to the documents.

VI. CONCLUSION

To immature research workers elaborate documentation often appears as needless red tape and ritual. Attempts to use documents prepared by others in order to avoid duplication or to compare results, however, soon leads the investigator to appreciate the essential values in documentation. Historians are limited of necessity by imperfections in the existing documents upon which they must rely. There is a real challenge to the social research craftsman in the fact that the opportunity which he has to make his own documents places him in a position to prepare case studies which will approximate the ideal requirements of his science.

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CHAPTER VII

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF CASE MATERIALS

Deriving sociological conclusions from observed facts is the final objective of research. Case studies fully documented are a source of data for testing old hypotheses and originating new ones. This transition from the actual to the conceptual, from the scrutinizing of group behavior to the constructing of sociological generalizations concerning it, is a difficult feat. The result depends upon the creative imagination of the investigator, upon his ability to detect new relationships in his data and invent new formulas to account for his concrete discoveries.

Many books and treatises have been written on this phase of research which summarize the underlying principles. Two distinct steps are always recognized: analysis and theoretical interpretation or generalization. The first step, analysis, is usually divided into four sections: (1) the arrangement of materials, (2) the factoring of a case and the discovery of relationships, (3) the comparison of cases, and (4) the classification of cases. Each of these steps will be considered with respect to the scientific treatment of sociological case studies, and particularly with respect to the three types of studies presented in Part II.

I. ANALYSIS[1]

The complex array of facts which have been collected in case studies must be arranged into the natural order in which they occurred, and the underlying design and meaning of relationships must be traced. Analysis is not, of course, confined entirely to this stage of the research investigation. The investigator is always analyzing all data as he obtains it, analyzing the narrative

[1] For an example of case analysis, see pp. 248–53; 257–60.

as he secures it in an interview in order to discover gaps in the tale which he may fill by further questioning, analyzing the documentary material which accumulates, and fitting together and analyzing the various scraps of data which he obtains from time to time. The fragmentary manner in which the material must be discovered makes it necessary for him to postpone the detailed, thorough task of analysis, however, until numerous documents have been collected.

In an exploratory study, the first question that confronts the investigator who attempts to analyze the mass of material is, "What constitutes a case?" The answer may be given that any set of relationships about which sufficient data have been assembled may be treated as a case. The cultural area, or the interest, or the accommodation group which has been studied may be considered as "the case" and all of the documents treated as a part of one case study. Later, different phases of the problem about which considerable data has been collected may be broken off and handled as separate cases. Because of the fragmentary manner in which material has to be collected, because of the fact that every group incident has to be looked at from many different angles both through the narrated experiences of many different people and through a series of observations on the part of the research worker, data from numerous documents have to be pieced together in an effort to secure a complete case study.

Having decided upon the case, the next step is to prepare and arrange the material for analysis. Irrelevant data must be pruned away until only the essential factors and their relationships remain. And in an exploratory study there is, of necessity, much data collected which are not pertinent to the case selected for analysis. This initial simplification, like all the steps in analysis, is still expressed concretely in the language of the findings themselves, and scientific terminology is not used until the final step, sociological interpretation, is reached. It results in an abridged, terse statement of situations and the factors which create them, or in a statement of the sequences of behavior and the processes

involved. It has been found helpful at the outset of an analysis to reread all the documents, underlining in colored pencil the important data, the salient facts in the case.

In analyzing the material for constellations of factors and processes it is desirable to prepare this selected or underlined data into an analysis chart. By arranging data chronologically in vertical columns according to consecutive dates and at the same time grouping them across the sheet horizontally by significant topics it is possible to grasp quickly the various aspects and relationships which the case presents. Reading the chart vertically gives the sequence of events and suggests processes, while reading it horizontally gives groupings of events which occurred simultaneously, and hence indicates possible constellations of relationships. The selection of a social area or an interest group at the outset as the unit of study insured the limitation of the study to behavior that was contiguous, and therefore probably related.

In an analysis of group life this statement of the sequence and constellations of behavior makes it possible to secure concrete descriptions of: (1) a type of group life which exists over a period of time; (2) the constellation of conditioning factors which determine this type of life; (3) new factors which enter into the situation and bring about a new type of group life; (4) the new type of life; and (5) the constellation of conditioning factors which determine this type of life. Item 1 acts as a check on item 2, and item 3 and 4 act as a check on item 5. Similarly, in studying an accommodation group it is possible to obtain through a sequence of behavior either in the study of a group or in the study of the life-history of an immigrant (1) a description of the immigrant life; (2) an analysis of the determining constellation of factors in that life; (3) a description of the American life with which the immigrant group comes into contact; (4) an analysis of the determining constellations of factors in the American situation; (5) the interaction of factors in the American situation and those in the immigrant group life; and (6) the resulting modification of both the immigrant and American life.

One of the most difficult problems in analysis is that of lifting specific facts from the context in which they appear without destroying their real meaning. Society can be compared to a fabric, not to a bundle of single threads, and it is in interrelationship, in interactions, that group life is manifested. To facilitate handling, however, the great mass of material collected has to be reduced to the single items such as those of an analysis sheet, but in the subsequent study of that sheet the research worker reconstructs in his imagination the interrelationships in which the phenomena represented by the items actually occurred. The chart, in other words, becomes symbolic of the entire mass of pertinent data.

A study of the analysis chart almost inevitably reveals that important concrete facts are lacking, with the result that additional research data have to be collected before the material is in shape for sociological interpretation. Some investigators have found it of value to keep a running analysis chart, adding the data from each document as they are secured and studying the chart throughout the investigation in order to determine the next move. Research workers with considerable experience in studying group phenomena can do this more easily than the beginner, for they are in a position to estimate the significance and implication of apparently isolated scraps of data as they appear. When this running analysis chart is kept, however, it is necessary to return again and again to the early documents for other data which take on new significance as the analysis grows.

By limiting the study to a social area or a natural group, and then by arranging items chronologically on an analysis sheet, the two basic classifications of space and time have already been made. This classification enables the research worker to handle the case as a specimen; it enables him to discover constellations and processes and to understand the fundamental way in which the group behaves.

But when comparison and classification are discussed in treatises on scientific method, the emphasis is usually upon a

different type of procedure. A number of cases are analyzed and compared in order to determine their similarities and differences; the cases are then divided on the basis of these similarities and differences and sorted into classes which are labeled in accordance with their outstanding characteristics. This procedure can also be carried on to a limited extent in handling our type studies, to a limited extent because a thoroughgoing case study requires so much time that the numerous case studies necessary for comparison can only be accumulated slowly.

Two kinds of comparison can be made in the type studies of this volume: (1) the analyses of different groups can be compared, and (2) the analyses of various stages which are depicted in the natural history of one group can be compared with each other. Usually the first kind of comparison involves the research data which has been collected by a number of investigators, while the second kind of comparison involves data which has been collected by one person. Comparing various stages in the same group reduces the number of variable factors to a minimum, and if equally well-rounded material can be secured concerning each stage, this kind of comparison should yield especially valuable results. If data on different groups which are compared have been collected in accordance with the same outlines it is more likely from the standpoint of content, to be really comparable.

Comparison opens the investigator's eyes to new relationships and enables him to discover significance in data which hitherto seemed unimportant. In making a comparison he is constantly asking, "What are the factors in this case which are similar to the ones in the other, and what are the factors in this case which are different from the ones in the other, and hence may be responsible for the difference in result"? This search, directed by the guideposts which each case contributes, often enables the investigator to uncover factors and relationships which have previously remained obscured.

As in the case of analysis, classification and comparison can

hardly be confined to this stage of research; they go on to a certain extent throughout the entire study. But classification and comparison can only be used extensively when considerable data have been collected. Also, as in the case of analysis, comparison and classification discloses gaps in the material which must be bridged by the collection of additional research data and new research problems which should be undertaken.

II. SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

The final stage in a given research project is the formulation of scientific generalizations from the concrete data which have been analyzed and compared. This formulation of scientific generalizations may be made from a number of different objectives. In research, research which actually makes new contributions to the body of existing knowledge, the emphasis is either upon verifying a discovery which has already been made by someone else but which requires corroboration before it is generally accepted, or it means discovering for the first time a new explanation. In what might be termed practice research the student discovers for himself something which others have discovered before. From the standpoint of the body of existing knowledge this can hardly be called research, but from the standpoint of the contributions which are made to the investigator's own knowledge the discovery is often a new one and involves the same processes on his part as though it constituted research.

The final interpretation of data is usually the most creative part of research. Through reflective thinking the research investigator attempts to interpret his concrete data by the application of first one and then another of the accepted theories in his field, searches for negative cases which are contrary to the accepted theories, and then attempts to formulate the theory anew in such a way that it will account for the negative case. Or the research worker may start with an analysis of his concrete data, formulate his generalizations on the basis of it, and then compare

his generalizations with the scientific theories which already exist. This latter approach is usually more fruitful in a new science or in an exploratory study.

The type studies presented in Part II were designed to enable the beginning student in sociology to discover concretely how groups function, in order that he may understand the theories regarding this phenomena which are set forth in textbooks. A list of the theories which have been studied can be compiled, in which conflicting theories are grouped together, and these theories can then be applied to the concrete data which has been collected in order to determine their significance and value in interpreting the facts. Concepts should also be listed and identified with the concrete data. In identifying concrete materials with a concept it is essential that the elements of the concepts as contained in its definitions be kept in mind, and that these be compared with the elements into which the concrete situation is analyzed. Studying interpretations of case material which have been made by experienced investigators, comparing case analyses of his own with those of experts, and going through a case analysis and interpretation step by step with someone who performs the task skilfully will assist the beginner in perfecting his own technique.

III. THE NEW RESEARCH PROBLEM

The building of a science is a continual, gradual process. A scientific theory which was generally accepted yesterday is demolished or modified by a new discovery of today. As the frontiers of research are pushed outward old controversial questions are settled, new ones immediately arise, and occasionally a new fundamental theory is advanced which shatters the accumulations of countless investigators and in turn becomes the cornerstone for a new superstructure. And each time an investigator completes a research project he finds himself facing a whole array of unanswered questions, each one of which may become the center of a new research project, the basis for new generalizations which may annul ones which he has previously discovered.

The type studies with which we have been dealing have been framed to give a first-hand introduction to the more general aspects of group life which are commonly discussed by sociologists. This orientation in the field inevitably results in the formulation of innumerable questions that point the way toward new research projects.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

EXCERPTS FROM TYPE STUDY NO. 1: THE SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY OF A TERRITORIAL GROUP

In this Appendix, and in the two which follow, a few excerpts are given which have been taken from investigations made by students in accordance with the type-study outlines of Part II. In order that the snatches of material presented might have greater significance, they have all been taken from studies made in one small natural area, the local community of Canalport.

The community selected is one of the eighty-odd ecological areas into which the city has been divided, and is located about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the heart of Chicago. In addition to being an ecological area, a product of the forces of competition, with definite geographical barriers, a segregated population, and a central shopping center, it is also a community with its own social organization and a consciousness of its existence. Also, it is recognized as a community by other sections of the city. It has within its borders several smaller neighborhoods, based principally upon nationality differences. All of these cultural groups, however, consider themselves a part of the one community of Canalport.

A number of students have been engaged in the study of Canalport, and this Appendix A deals with data gathered in the sociological survey of Canalport. Appendix B contains sections from the study of a contemporary boys' gang in the community. Appendix C presents parts of the study of an immigrant group: the Lithuanians. Many nationalities have found homes in Canalport, but for the Lithuanians their neighborhood in the community is the most important one in the city, and in many ways the center of Lithuanian culture in this country.

Four or five students have worked on the survey of Canalport

as a territorial group. Two were engaged on the general study of the community. Later, one spent his entire time on the social history of the community during its pioneer period, and two others concentrated on neighborhoods, following the complete outline of Type Study No. 1 for each of the four neighborhoods contained within the boundaries of Canalport.

The material presented in Appendix A is abstracted from the following sections of this survey: (1) The collection of existing data; (2) the determination of ecological areas, and the determination of social areas; (3) a study of the history of the community; and (4) case analysis.

The complete study was made in accordance with the outlines presented in Type Study No. 1, but only a few of the materials are presented here.

STUDY OF A TERRITORIAL GROUP: CANALPORT

BASED ON ASSIGNMENT 1: THE COLLECTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF EXISTING DATA[1]

Canalport, one of the oldest sections of the city, originated at the junction of the Illinois-Michigan Canal with the Chicago River. In the forties it was an important transfer point between the Great Lakes boats and the Mississippi River barges. Industries flourished along the waterways in the port town. Railroads coming in the fifties superseded the water travel, and though Canalport became surrounded with railroad lines and industries, it was no longer the dominant industrial and transportation center. Successive waves of immigration have poured their quota into Canalport, with the result that it has had many cultures implanted upon its soil. The existing literature which was found at the outset of the study of Canalport may be summarized as follows: (1) Literature dealing with the Illinois-Michigan Canal and its successor, the Ship and Drainage Canal. Describes origin of Canalport and the economic forces which affected the community. A few concrete references to the community itself. (2) The usual sources of city, county, state, and church histories scanned for the occasional meager references to this area which they contained. (3) This community has been recognized as one of the "problem spots" of the city, and reports of civic and social agencies contain occasional references to it. Also, one or two limited social studies have been made at different times. (4) Occasional references to the community have been made by investigators who were studying surrounding areas. (5) The series of maps showing the spotting of social phenomena over the city as a whole give social statistics with respect to Canalport. The census data for 1910 and 1920 were also available for the small areas of the city. (6) Since Canalport contains the outstanding Lithuanian settlement in Chicago and the dominant Lithuanian settlement for the entire country, all available litera-

[1] See pp. 57–59 of outlines.

ture on the Lithuanians in America and Chicago was also digested.

Bibliographies were made and excerpts copied. The material was filed chronologically and by subtopics. Much of this background work was done by members of the research staff and placed at the disposal of students. Some of the work was also done by students who preferred library study and who worked along with field investigators engaged on the same community.

A working digest of the material secured from existing documents was prepared and is presented. References to sources are omitted from the digest, for the investigator familiar with the material can readily find these in the file of excerpts.

Digest of Data

1. Period previous to origin of Canalport

1673. Joliet mentions possibility of canal across this section of the country to connect the Lake of Illinois (Lake Michigan) with the St. Louis River (the Des Plaines and Illinois) and complete the waterway to the Gulf, and hence to Florida.

1808–36. National agitation for the canal.—1808, Secretary of Treasury recommends the waterway; 1810, Congress passes resolution in its favor; 1812, secures strip of land along canal way from Indians; 1817, first canal survey made. State promotion of canal.—1822, newly created state of Illinois petitions Congress for right to build waterway and receives grant of land; 1825, state incorporates company to build canal—is unsuccessful; 1827, Congress donated additional land to be sold to finance canal and new Commission created; 1830, plats Chicago and Ottawa at either end of the canal route; 1833, Commission abolished because it could not raise funds; 1835, another Commission appointed.

2. Platting of Canalport to fire (1836–71)

1836. Canal commissioners plat town of Canalport on the river about three miles from its mouth in the center of city. Construction work on canal began. Scarcity of labor, floods, epidemics, and panic of 1837 retard work.

1842. State bank failed and Illinois faced bankruptcy. Work on canal stopped. Men working on construction of canal receive canal

scrip in payment; this becomes unnegotiable; exchange it for canal land. Thus some settlers come into land in and about Canalport. They farm.

1843. Loan floated, board of trustees created, and work began again. Shallow-cut channel substituted for larger scheme.

1847. St. Patrick's parish organized in Canalport; "Irish immigrants settling here in ever increasing numbers."

1848. First boat passed through the locks at Canalport.

1854. Railroad built and canal is doomed. Rail travel begins to supersede water travel. Same year passenger packets on canal sold.

1856. "Feud that has been brewing between Irish and Germans resulted in open fight. Irish have won and Germans are withdrawing north across the river, leaving Canalport to the Irish" (political fight).

1863. Township in which Canalport is located is annexed to the city. Description by newspaper man: "There are clusters of low constructions along A——Road. These are either slaughter or packing houses with a glue factory and some rendering establishments. It is an area with a reputation. Here crowded boats and long lines of wagons meet." German Protestant church founded.

1865. Packing plants move to new area two miles south.

1869. Swedish Evangelical church built; 200 members; a mission church.

3. FIRE TO 1900—PERIOD OF NEW POPULATION INFLUX

1871. Distribution and realignment of population following the great fire brought influx of a number of new families into Canalport.

1872. First Polish family entered Canalport.

1875. Omnibus line opened extending from center of city to Canalport.

1880. Beginning of influx of Russian Poles into Canalport.

1882. Peak of tonnage reached on Canal.

1885. Lithuanians begin to appear in Canalport. Movement of some of the old German and Irish families out of the community begins to be marked.

1889. First Polish Catholic church built at 32d and F——; this marked the center of their neighborhood with T—— Street as the business thoroughfare.

1891. Lithuanians organize parish; thirty families.

1895. Italians begin to enter southeastern corner of Canalport.

1900. Canal abandoned as waterway.

4. 1900 TO PRESENT[1]

1902. Ship canal construction began.

1908. The first large manufacturing district in the city opened. It extends into the southeastern part of Canalport.

1919–20. Maps showing the distribution of social phenomena over the city for one year during 1918, 1919, or 1920 give facts concerning Canalport as shown in Table I.

TABLE I

	Total Cases	Rate per 1,000 of Population	Rank among Other Communities*
Poverty	195	3.23	14
Delinquent girls	16	.26	18
Delinquent boys	31	.49	28
Suicides	3	.05	45
Gangs	61†		
Divorce and desertion	56	.93	42

* The eighty local communities of the city are ranked in order of their rate per thousand, that community with the highest rate being ranked first.

† Ranks fourth among other communities with respect to the number of gangs.

1920. Population of Canalport (compiled from United States Census tract figures for 1920):

	Number
Total population	78,755
Native white of native parents	11,464
Native white of foreign parents	32,075
Native white of mixed parents	5,598
Foreign-born white	28,252
Native-born colored	962
Other colored	404

The major foreign-born groups were represented as follows in the 1920 census figures.

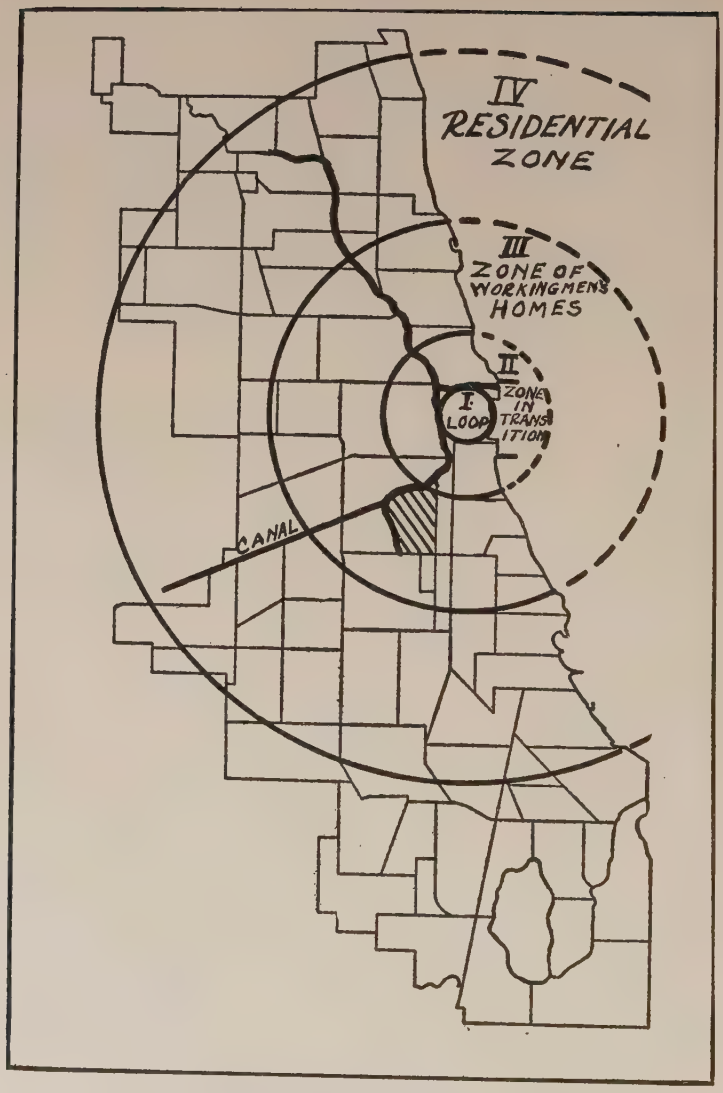
	Number
Polish	6,789
Lithuanian	5,057
Italians	4,397
Germans	2,827
Irish	2,267

A study of these statistics raises many questions which only further research in the area can answer.

[1] This period is lumped because of the scarcity of data. As more material was collected it was divided into appropriate stages.

In making this digest of existing material, spaces were left between each date so that additional material could be added as it was secured in the field. This insured an up-to-the-minute summary. The task was to fill out this skeleton into a realistic picture of life in Canalport as it had evolved. The remainder of the outline for Type Study No. I suggests the kind of material that is sought. The summary puts the investigator into touch with all the concrete facts that bear upon each particular phase of his study as he undertakes it.

MAP I



LOCATION OF CANALPORT IN THE CITY

Based on Chart 2, *The City*, by R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess. Concentric circles indicate conceptually the areas of city growth.

INTERPRETATION OF MAPS[1] (BASED ON ASSIGNMENT 3: DETERMINATION OF ECOLOGICAL AREAS; AND ASSIGNMENT 4: DETERMINATION OF SOCIAL AREAS: CULTURAL, POLITICAL, MARGINAL)

Map I. Location of Canalport

Canalport is located on the south branch of the river, 5 miles from its mouth, and 3 miles southwest of the heart of the city. Professor E. W. Burgess has applied his conceptual scheme of the growth of a city to Chicago,[2] and the result shows the local community of Canalport located in the third zone of workingmen's homes, just on the edge of the second zone of transition.

This conceptual scheme of concentric circles of city growth depicts what normally occurs in the development of a modern city. The central business district is located at the heart of the city, adjacent to the center of transportation. Surrounding it is a zone of transition—a zone of small manufacturing concerns, wholesale houses, and hotels and rooming-houses for transients. As the city grows, the area of the central business district expands, in turn forcing outward the second zone (the area in transition) until it invades the third zone (the district of workingmen's homes). Thus, like a pebble thrown into the water, a new factor introduced at the center of the city may set in motion an ever widening circle of changes, causing each successive zone of the city to penetrate into the one which lies just beyond.

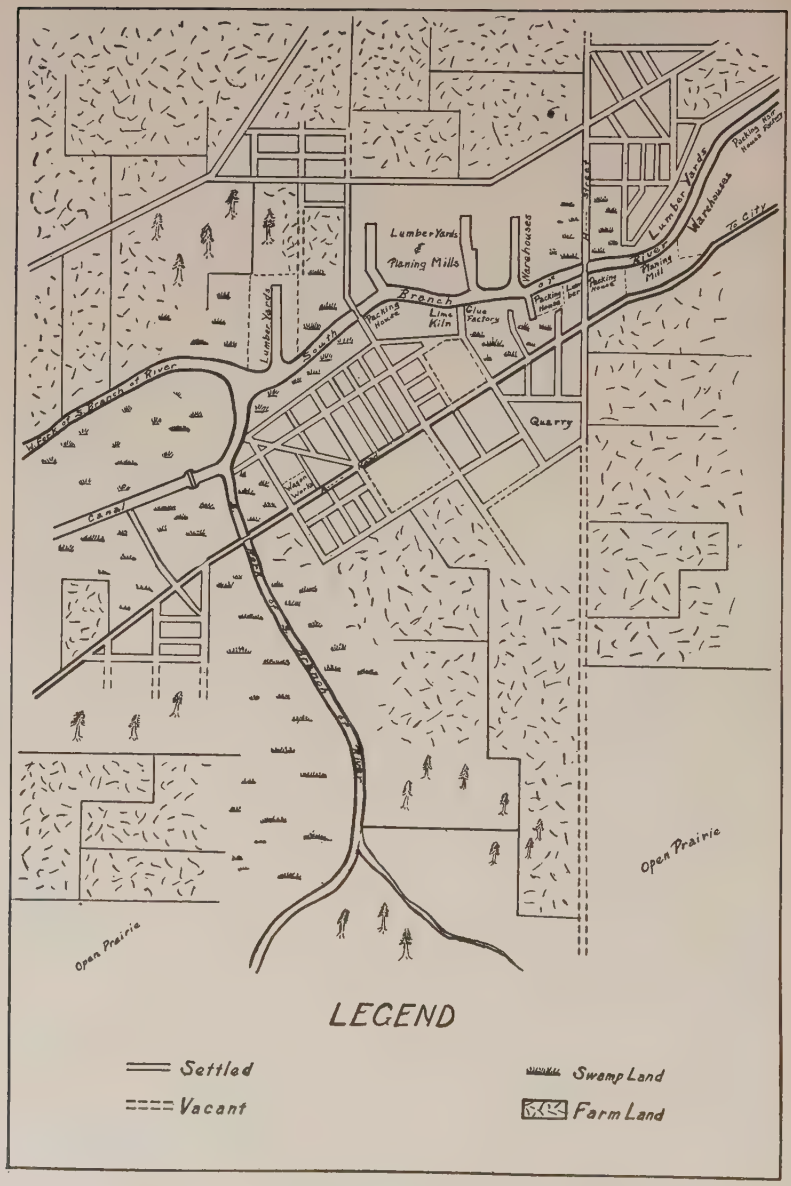
When the conceptual scheme of city growth was applied to Chicago, it was found that Canalport was situated within the zone of workingmen's homes, but that the zone of transition had already encroached upon its northeastern corner. Subsequent field investigation has shown that this northeastern section is undergoing rapid deterioration as a residential area. Old dwellings erected in the nineties are being razed, and the land is being covered with factories.

The river forming the north and east boundaries of Canalport and the trunk railroad lines extending along its eastern and western borders have caused a variation from the conceptual scheme of city growth, with the result that the second zone of transition has been projected in narrow elongations extending along these main arteries of transportation.

[1] Data gained from subsequent case studies are drawn upon in making the interpretation of the maps.

[2] Park and Burgess, *The City*, pp. 50–52 and Chart II, p. 55.

MAP II



CANALPORT IN 1857

Adapted from Davis' Map of 1857

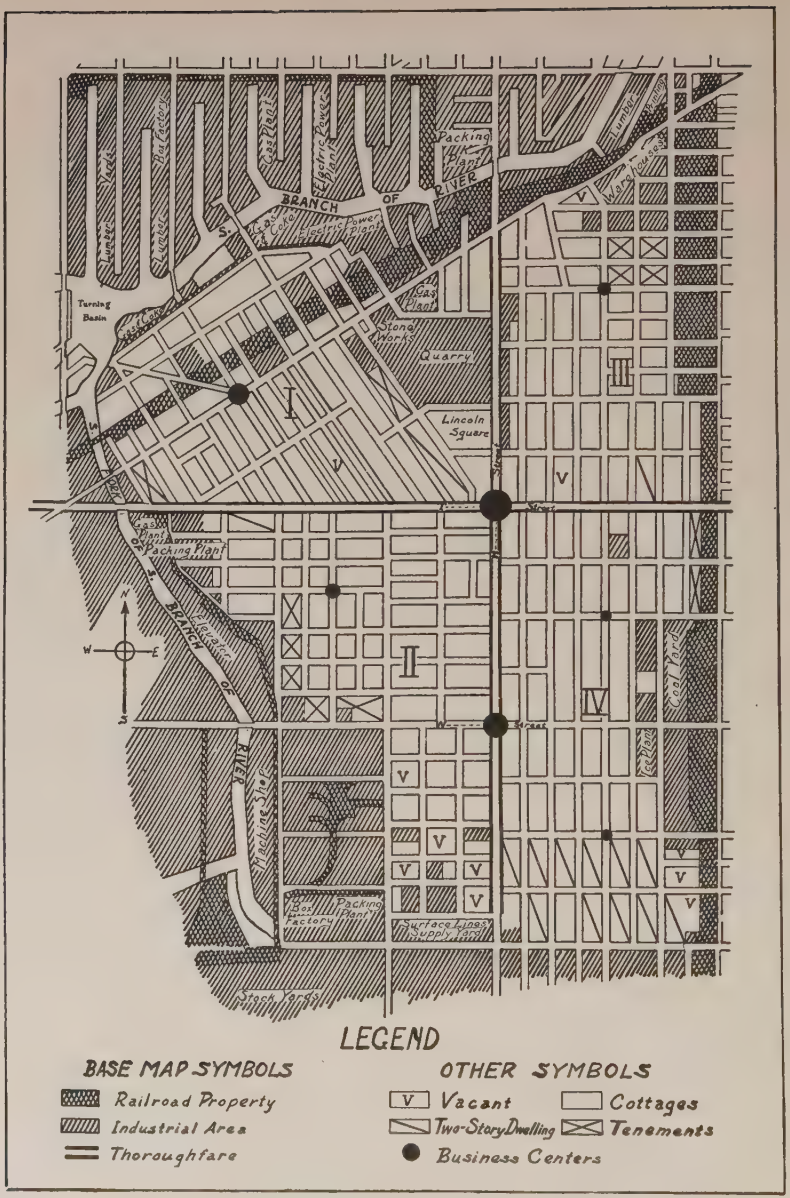
Map II. Canalport in 1857

Canalport was on the upgrade as a river port in the late fifties. The town developed at the junction of the canal and the river, on low, swampy land which had to be drained and raised before it was suitable for human habitation. The south branch of the river had been the most navigable channel from pioneer days, and the infant industries which sprang up along it spread southward with the opening of the canal.

A—— Road, which had been constructed to make possible the building of the canal, connected the young city with the rapidly growing hinterland to the west and south. Farmers drove their cattle down A—— Road from a distance of several hundred miles to the packing houses of Canalport, and truck gardeners used the same thoroughfare. So important was A—— Road in these early days that the original town of Canalport was platted at right angles to it.

The small settlement had farm lands on its outskirts, and its people lived a semirural life, finding work now in the fields, and now in the industrial plants or in river transportation. Open stretches of land isolated it from other settlements and accentuated its community consciousness.

MAP III



ECOLOGICAL MAP OF CANALPORT, 1928

Plotted on Social Research Base Map. Business centers plotted from Hart's *Land Values, 1928*. Types of dwellings plotted from the City Building Map.

Map III. Ecological Map of Canalport, 1928

A map of Canalport's physical environment at the present time presents a very different picture from the one of Canalport in the fifties. The community has spread to the south and east, and a wide network of railroad tracks and industry flanks it on all sides, marking it off much like an ancient walled city. With the transition from river to railroad transportation the center of industry has shifted to the southern border, where the belt of factories and railroads is over 2 miles wide. The old stone quarry is still in operation, but the character of the other industries has changed. Canalport has been politically, economically, and socially incorporated into the city, and the open stretches of farm land and prairie have disappeared.

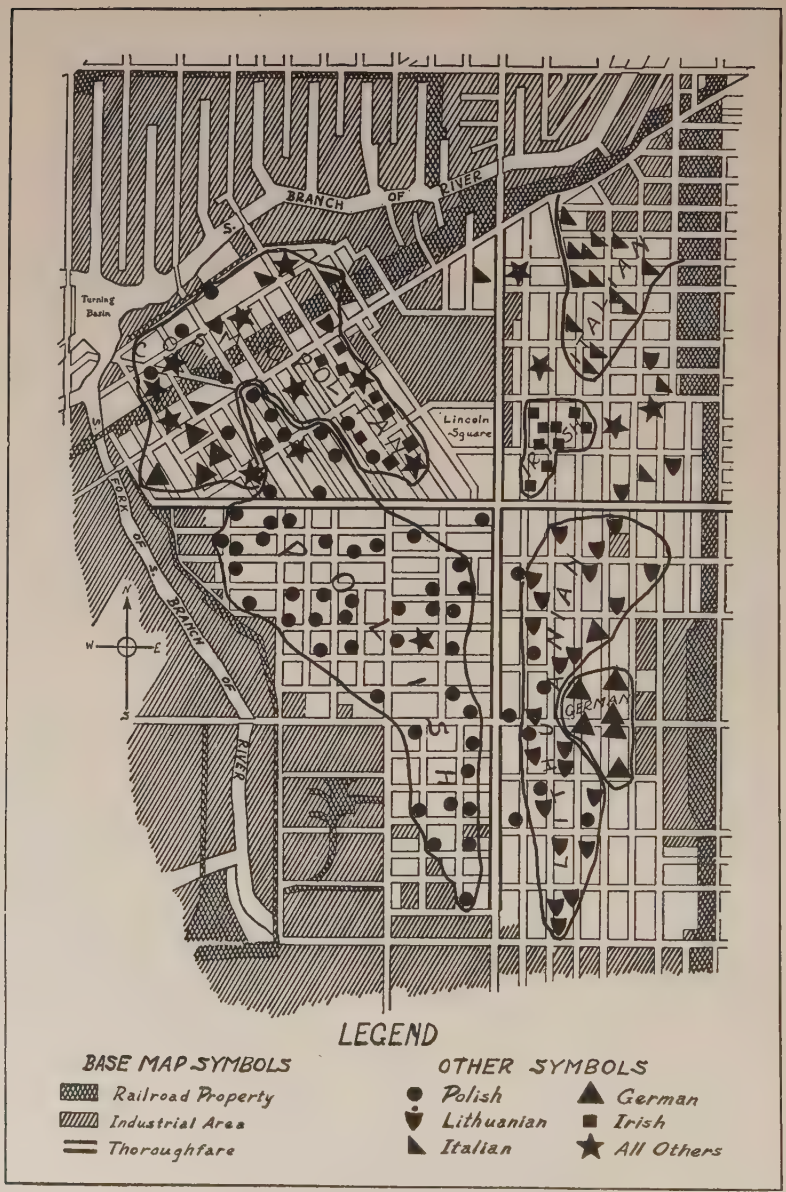
A—— Avenue is no longer the principal thoroughfare, though as a diagonal road it still has considerable traffic and there is agitation on foot to widen and repave it. The section line streets, T—— and H——, which extend throughout the city, have become the outstanding thoroughfares. A new business center has developed at the intersection of H—— and T—— streets which is the principal center for all Canalport. A still newer and somewhat smaller center has developed at the intersection of W—— and H—— streets; and as the population continues to move southward, it may be predicted that this center will become the dominant one.

T—— and H—— streets divide Canalport into four subecological areas, each with its own small local business center, but all dependent on the dominant business district at T—— and H —— streets.

The dwellings of Canalport are still predominantly cottages. A few small tenements, however, have been constructed, principally in the northeastern section, where the neighborhood has deteriorated, and a few new duplexes have been built in the southeastern section, which has been the last part of Canalport to develop. Some vacant property still remains.

A comparison of the map of 1857 with that of the present time shows many changes which must be explained.

MAP IV



NATIONALITY DISTRIBUTION IN CANALPORT, 1928

Plotted on Social Research Base Map. Residences and nationalities plotted from records of City Charity Association.

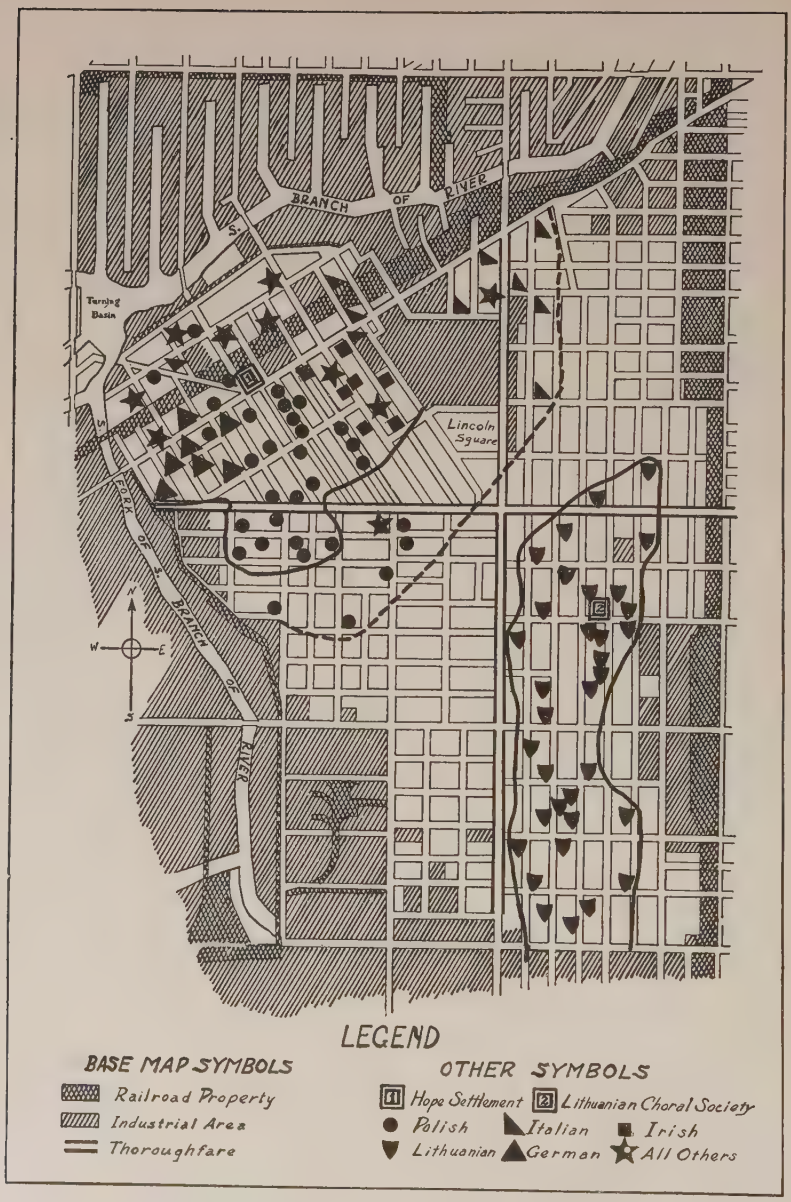
Map IV. Nationality Distribution in Canalport, 1928

The residences of cases of poverty during one year as shown by the records of the local charity society were plotted and closed curves drawn about the dots to indicate concentrations of the different nationalities. Five distinct areas were found: an Italian, an Irish, a German, a Lithuanian, and a Polish. Old Canalport stands out as a cosmopolitan section, with a remnant of its old Irish settlement still intact on the southeastern side, a remnant of its old German settlement on the southwestern side, and an extension of the Polish settlement into the heart of the area.

Poles predominate in Canalport at the present time, and there is a tendency for them to penetrate into the Lithuanian area to the east. With the exception of the Polish group, the nationalities seem to be confined within the subecological areas depicted on Map III.

The map really shows the distribution of *poverty cases* of each nationality, but inasmuch as Canalport is almost entirely occupied by families of the same lower economic classes, families who live so closely to the margin that any one of them is likely to become a charity case at some time, this poverty distribution should be fairly representative of the location of the different nationalities in the community.

MAP V



DISTRIBUTION AND NATIONALITY OF MEMBERS OF TWO CANALPORT ORGANIZATIONS, 1928

Plotted on Social Research Base Map. Residences and nationality of members obtained from 1928 membership files of the organizations.

Map V. Distribution and Nationality of Members of Two Canalport Organizations, 1928

The residences of the members of two organizations, the Hope Settlement and the Lithuanian Choral Society, are plotted to discover the natural areas within which the two organizations function. The nationalities of the members are also plotted.

Hope Settlement is principally an organization of the cosmopolitan neighborhood of Canalport, though it also draws a few members from the new, relatively unorganized Italian neighborhood to the east and a few from the Polish neighborhood south of T—— Street. Since the Polish population is moving southward, there is a possibility that some of these people became members of the settlement when they lived in the cosmopolitan neighborhood and continued their membership after their change of residence.

The natural sphere of influence of the settlement indicates that it is quite definitely a neighborhood rather than a community-wide organization—an indication of a local political grouping that corresponds to the ecological subdivisions shown on Map III. The map also suggests that the settlement is adapting itself to the changing conditions within its neighborhood, reaching members of the various cultural groups that make up the population.

The Lithuanian Choral Society stands out in contrast to the settlement. Its members belong entirely to one cultural group, and the locality which it serves is confined to the habitat of this group. Over one-third of the members of the choral society were found to live outside of the borders of Canalport in two new Lithuanian settlements, one about 3 miles to the south, and the other a corresponding distance to the west. Since all of the members of the society participate actively in its programs, this discovery suggests that the old cultural center still maintains its dominance and that people who have moved to the new settlement continue to be bound to it by very genuine ties.

BASED ON ASSIGNMENT 5: THE NATURAL HISTORY OF EACH SOCIAL AREA

The next two documents contain interviews with old residents.

DOCUMENT NO. 1[1]

Open files
Early History of Canalport
R. Brown

Informant: A man of Irish parentage whose family moved to Canalport in 1854, and who was born in 1858. Interviewed August, 1926.

My parents were among the oldest settlers in this region. In 1854 they moved their family and household goods to the village of Canalport, near the river. At that time the Pottawatomie Indians were camped along the western bank, and this side of the river was lined with brick yards, packing plants, and lumber yards. Large open prairies spread out in all directions inviting more people into the new settlement. The place hummed with industry, and river boats with their cargoes of limestone and lumber from Michigan fed the hungry kilns and sawmills.

Father soon found employment, and so decided to make this locality his new home. Many other pioneers, mostly hard-working Irish immigrants, like my own folks, or husky Germans, came to find work in the yards, and the little town grew rapidly. Almost all these laboring men had large families of eight or ten children, so they made the most of their opportunities and lived happily together. As the young people grew up they intermarried with the neighbors and remained here in Canalport as permanent settlers.

During the packing season, which was only through the cooler months, most of the men were employed at the old Hancock's, Law's, or Brown's plants. At this time there were no packing houses on Grove street, nor any union stockyard. In order to do business stock men had to go to this or that stockyard, and they found it very inconvenient. These early industries used wood for fuel because there was no coal. Cord wood sold for $2.50 per cord, which helped to eke out the small wages. During the packing season families could buy a whole basketful of choice meats for fifty cents at the plants.

Laborers received $1.50 a day; butchers got $2.50; and skilled workers were paid $5.00 a day. Sometimes the families had to live for several months without work, but they managed to get along. When employment was

[1] This document and document No. 3 which follows are part of a series of eighteen documents dealing with the early history of Canalport, covering the period from 1848 to 1915.

scarce they went into debt for food, fuel, and clothing, but after the season began again they paid back every cent. I tell you those were good old times. Those folks were honest and took pride in paying their debts.

The rapid growth of the packing industry led to the need for many water-tight barrels, so the cooper trade became a thriving business. Mr. Shannessy, one of my father's friends, was a pioneer in this line. He opened up a cooper shop and turned the rough lumber into barrels at a rapid rate. Another important trade was that of wagon-maker. Most of the travel in those days was by wagon, so the farmers came to the old Eberhart wagon works for supplies.

About 1866[1] the railroad companies decided to buy a tract for a union stockyard, thus providing a central place of business for stock men. After building the new yards, business increased rapidly and the packers built fine homes in the city. In 1870, P—— and A—— came from Milwaukee, gave land to squatters, and built up a big business.

When I was little, A—— Avenue was the principal business district because it was the old state road. There were no paved streets nor sidewalks, just muddy roads. My mother used to put on her boots, carry a market basket on her arm, and trudge through the sticky mud to buy her groceries in the city, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles away.

As a child I attended the Canalport public school, a two-story frame building which was replaced by the new school in 1868. During the Civil War we boys saw the soldiers enlist. In 1868–69 the men took up baseball. The first professional ball game was played at Arnold Park, near the stockyards. The place is now used as a horse market. This city and Cincinnati were rivals for the packing industry, so the Red Stockings from Cincinnati were jealous. P—— P—— and Tim F—— went east and arranged for the game. We won our first game in '69. There were no cars, so the people drove in wagons and carriages. The admission was one dollar. After that we boys played regular baseball instead of "Three Old Cat."

I remember three wars. We lived at H—— and the Lift Bridge just after the Civil War. When the North won a battle, all the people around there gathered up the old grease barrels and made a big bonfire near the saloon at the corner of H——. That was all open prairie then. We boys had a big parade.

At that time there were no newspapers, so when we wanted to hear the news we walked to Noel's general store on the corner of A—— and H——. A

[1] Correct date is 1865. It is common to find errors of a year in dates of this kind. Some people give the year when a project was first planned, others the year when construction began, and others the year when it was put into use. The yards were opened in 1865; first real business was done there in 1866. R. B.

reader stood on the northwest corner and read out loud from the *Chicago Times*. Noel's store stands there yet.

The "bob tail" cars were first used here. Then the grip car came, and the electric about 1890. The people were opposed to the trolley. Busses ran first to 22d Avenue and Canal. The street was paved in 1876 but the property owners opposed it on account of the cost. Later, all the streets were raised eight feet.

Now all the old industries are gone. If you go over to Lime Street Mr. F—— can tell you a lot more. His family used to run the kilns; they've had charge of the quarries ever since they were opened in 1841.

Data for confidential key.—The informant is Mr. John Kelly, 2916 Canal Street. He is easily approached, everyone in the community seems to know him, and he has evidently taken an active part in the Irish life of Canalport. He is tolerant, however, in his attitude toward the other nationalities. His memory is accurate. Could be approached at any time, as he has retired from business and has plenty of leisure.

The following comment concerning the interview was taken from the investigator's diary:

August 15.—Made my first interview. I secured Mr. Kelly's name from Mr. R (a man who had done settlement work in the community). I approached Mr. Kelly as a friend of Mr. R's, telling him Mr. R had said "he knows all about Canalport." Mr. K was cordial, and an explanation of my mission, together with a few questions, "How long have you been in Canalport?" launched him on his story. Additional questions were asked from time to time as to dates and exact locations.

DOCUMENT NO. 3

Open files
Early History of Canalport

Informant: A woman of Irish parentage born in Canalport in 1856. Interviewed August, 1926 (three interviews).

I was raised in Canalport. We lived over there where the gas plant is now. Father worked the pumping station where they used to pump the water from the Illinois-Michigan Canal to feed the river boats. There was a big wheel to take up the water, millions of gallons. The boats brought grain from Ottawa; coal, wood, and sometimes a boatload of watermelons from the South. I was born where the gas house stands, and remember the three tugs that hauled the grain boats to town. Their names were "Constitution," "Brothers," and "Success." They made three trips a day.

The river was so shallow that we could almost wade across. We drank

the river water at that time. Just after the Civil War the Indians lived in Peter's Grove. They used to hoe potatoes and cabbage for father. We had a fishing seine 50 feet by 150, so caught a good many fish at a time, enough to fill a couple of wash tubs. There were all kinds of fish—bass, pike, pickerel, perch, and suckers. We could fish in the lake too, way past the jail. Sometimes we went out in a boat and picked up wood.

All the boats were sailing boats in those days. There were locks in the canal, and mules towed the boats four or five miles. They came from the big line at Lockport. A man went ahead in the towpath looking for muskrat holes. There was one man for every eight miles. Everybody had barns for the mules. There was a ferry for a bridge. We could walk across Fuller Street through water. The Hancock packing house was at 18th Street and the bridge. All this land was cabbage gardens from L—— to the river. We used to sell the cabbage to the people on the boats.

All the other side of A—— Avenue was filled by packing houses. First there were no railroads, so the cattle were driven on foot along the old Santa Fe trail. They always had a big steer for leader. The packing season was mighty busy. Sometimes the steers used to jump out of the windows into the river. Then we got a rope and went after them. All the offal was dumped into the river, because they only sold the four quarters. The boys always fought for the hearts and livers; they sold those for pin money. There was no refrigeration, so the meat was cured on shelves and covered with layers of ice. We called that the chill room. Mr. Peter used to cut the river ice for the meats. One man sawed the ice, another made it keep in the track with pikes, and horses pulled it into the ice house. There was no government inspector then, nor medical aid. When we wanted a doctor we had to go to H—— Street.

For fun we had boat racing in log canoes, skating to the Heights and back, sometimes skating to the lake. There were no boats on the river in winter; tugs broke the ice in early spring. There were dances in the homes to the tunes of "Lady Washington" and "Money Musk." Jo, the butcher, had his "ham house," as we used to call it, on the northwest corner of B—— and A——. It was a big square building, and we used one part for dances. They had a violin, harp, and piano those days, and we danced square dances. My, we had heaps of fun too.

We didn't dress in silks like the girls do nowadays, but wore our little calico dresses. When it was cold, we put on clothes, wore our hoods, knitted stockings, and capes. My father used to say, when he saw a piece of silk, that it would ruin us. Those were good old times; we were all just like sisters and brothers. It isn't like that now. We had fairs at the church too. For a long time there were just Irish and German, but a few French drifted in

later. They didn't stay long. I don't know why they left. Most of them went to Burton.

We didn't hear the news very often. Now and then we got a letter at the church. The priest called the names at the altar. There was a big scramble for mail sometimes. The first mass ever said in Canalport was in the Scanlon home at Canal and Pitney. That was before any church was built here. I was christened in St. Patrick's in 1856.

When I was little there were two boat yards, one on each side of the bridge. There were two old-fashioned wells down by the river that turned with a windlass. We carried the water home in barrels. Every boat had a family living on it. The captains on the boats were very friendly to us kids.

In the spring the Des Plaines river backed up so all the cellars were flooded. We could go by boat to school. When the ice was breaking up men had to keep it way back with pike boats. Sometimes we tied the houses to trees to keep them from floating away. John O'Neil and his family lived on higher ground on B——, so we used to go there when the water was high. The chairs and table floated around in the house. We used to put up a flag when danger was past.

This part of town was full of trees: willow, maple, butternut, and crab apple. There are no trees now because the gas kills them. Peter's store was the nearest one, and we could walk on a chain of boats to get groceries.

Confidential key.—Mrs. Patrick O'Hara, 2022 Bridge Street. Has a vivid recollection of Canalport in the early days. Her whole life has centered in this one community of the city and she has a keen interest in it. Mr. G (person interviewed in Document 2) referred to her as "*the* colleen of the port days." Undoubtedly a very full account could be obtained from her of the changes which the neighborhood has undergone. (Lists of names Mrs. O'Hara gave for future interviews are added.)

In a similar manner the earliest residents of each of the various nationality groups in Canalport were visited to secure the account. Since the various neighborhoods have been built by nationalities, each new group settling on the open prairie on the fringe of the older settlers, this approach insures a well-rounded picture of the community. Of late years newer movements of population have spread over those distinct areas, but the nuclei of the old neighborhoods still remain.

CASE ANALYSIS BASED ON ASSIGNMENT 8: DOCUMENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

In this analysis the student treated the pioneer period of Canalport as a case, placing especial emphasis upon life in the permanent settlement. Other students studied other cultural groupings in Canalport. The analysis is no more complete than the data collected warrant. It was followed by a sociological interpretation which is not included in this excerpt.

Pioneer Period of Canalport, 1848–71

I. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER TERRITORIAL GROUPS

A. FORCES MAKING FOR ISOLATION

1. *From city.*—Stretches of open prairie; muddy roads that were little more than trails. Though the city, then little more than a town, was only four miles distant, trips to it were infrequent. Travel was by wagon, horseback, or on foot.

2. *From adjacent areas.*—The river on two sides, with few bridges, and the open country separated Canalport from patches of settlement in the vicinity.

3. *From other sections.*—Poor facilities for travel and other means of communication cut the community off, especially in the long winter season during which the canal could not be used.

B. FORCES MAKING FOR INTEGRATION

1. *With the city.*—The city was the nearest retail center where many of the needed purchases could be made. The city was a larger center and people went "to get news of what was going on." Some produce was taken into the city for sale. People from the city came to Canalport to embark on boats and to transact business, to buy and sell cargoes, etc. Minority groups of Swedes and Germans, especially, frequented larger settlements of their countrymen on the north side of the town, five miles away.

2. *With adjacent communities.*—Industries of Canalport attracted men into the area for employment. Canalport's small shopping center was used by other communities less developed. Its institutions, churches, and saloons were used in the same way.

3. *With the hinterland.*—Farmers drove their cattle in along the canal road from the western and southern part of the state. The agricultural products of the Mississippi River region were brought on boats to Canalport.

Manufactured products brought in from the eastern part of the country. Canalport was a point of exchange between the east and west so that people engaged in transportation came in from both directions.

II. LIFE WITHIN THE AREA

Three distinct sections were evident in the early community of Canalport:

1. The small transient dock and river area with rooming-houses, saloons, a few disorderly houses, and later a few small hotels.

2. The permanent settlement back from the river where the old community of Canalport still remains.

3. The straggling farms to the south and west. People living on these considered themselves a part of Canalport.

It is with this second section, the permanent settlement, that the analyses deal, especially.

A. ECONOMIC FORCES MOLDING THE LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

1. Seasonal industries. Packing and its subsidiary industries carried on during the cooler months of spring and fall; farming, dock work, work on the river, in the brickyards, and in stone quarries was also seasonal.

2. Industries were new and unstabilized. Employment was irregular; pay varied considerably for same work; keen competition for jobs and frequent competition between the same people.

3. Little specialization. Men did first one job and then another, whatever they could find. A few steady jobs, like that at pumping station, but even men so employed did other jobs on the side.

4. Families worked as an economic unit. Men did heavy work in fields, women and children weeded and cultivated. Families exchanged work with each other as *families*. Whole family would turn out to help another getting settled in new home or bringing in a harvest.

5. Each family engaged in both agricultural and industrial pursuits. Had own garden, pasture, cow, chickens, etc.

B. THE POPULATION

1. Largely Irish immigrants accustomed to the village and agricultural life of their home land. Irish cultural patterns dominated the early life (parish church, square dances, wakes, etc.).

2. Many related families and friends from the same village in the Old Country.

3. Sprinkling of Germans, Yankees, Swedish, and French-Canadians.

4. Average family large, and often had one or more relatives, usually male, as boarders.

5. Several boarding-houses of single men.

6. Steadily increasing population. Usually newcomer arrived during spring or early summer.

C. FAMILY LIFE

1. Large families.

2. Many occupations in which all members of the family did some phase of the work.

3. Constant changing of the family schedule of living as it adapted itself to different seasonal industries.

4. Friendships on a family basis: "Our family was friendly with the McC—— family, and we helped each other in getting in crops before a rain."

5. Constant struggle to eke out a living and make ends meet. Little surplus. Meager and unvaried diet.

D. CENTERS OF COMMUNITY LIFE

1. The churches. The Irish parish church functioned much as it did in the Irish villages. Priest the recognized leader dealing with many problems, entering intimately into the life of the people, yet occupying a position of authority. Church performed many functions, as for instance dispensing mail from the altar. A parochial school was soon founded in connection with it. (Not as clear a picture is given of the early Protestant and German church though there are indications that they, too, were centers for their respective followings.)

2. The few community stores. At the general store "a reader read aloud the newspaper." (This custom probably rose out of the fact that many of the people were illiterate, as well as out of the fact that newspapers were scarce.)

3. The two wells upon which everyone depended for his supply of water.

4. A "ham house" which was used for occasional dances and celebrations.

5. The saloons frequented by men of the community as well as by transients. This was another institution that had an enlarged function. Letters were written here for people who could not write their own, news brought in and discussed, time killed while men were waiting to go on the job, etc. "A kind of a club house."

E. RECREATION

Recreation was "home made." No commercialized recreation, and people created their own. Forms of recreation described are: skating, log canoeing, square dancing in the homes, and an occasional dance in the "ham

house," covered-wagon rides into the country, three cat and later baseball games, and picnics. During the Civil War, for instance, bonfires were built to celebrate northern victories.

F. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. Many and frequently repeated social contacts. The same people met in work, recreation, church life.

2. Kinship ties and Old World friendships strengthened bonds in many instances.

3. People rely upon one another in times of emergencies for services which are now performed by specialized groups: nurses, doctors, building contractors, store deliveries, etc.

4. Rendering of service to a neighbor a moral obligation.

5. Unregulated competition for jobs was on a personal, frequently repeated basis, and often resulted in clashes.

6. Conflicts, usually culminating in fist fights arising out of endeavor to uphold what were considered personal rights: squatters' rights, titles to land, rights to pasture animals, right to a particular job, etc. Tendency for each man to settle his own grievances directly and immediately.

APPENDIX B

EXCERPTS FROM TYPE STUDY NO. 2: THE CASE STUDY OF AN INTEREST GROUP

The material given here is taken from the study of a boys' gang in Canalport, the community discussed in Appendix A. Three series of records are suggested in the outlines for the study of an interest group: (1) the investigator's diary of his experiences in conducting the study, (2) a diary or running record of his observations of the behavior of the group and his contacts with the members, and (3) documents of special studies emphasizing various phases of association. In the particular case study the first two types of records were combined, the investigator placing his comments on his methods in parentheses at the close of each diary entry.

A few excerpts are presented from each of these records, together with some of the discussion contained in the student's analysis and sociological interpretation of the materials.

BASED ON ASSIGNMENT 1: DIARY OF GROUP ACTIVITIES

Excerpts from Diary of the Investigator

January 15.—Want to study a group of adolescent boys, especially in their leisure-time activities. I think I'll try to get a group at Lincoln Square (one of the small recreation parks of the city), since Worth, the director, is a fraternity brother of mine and I know he is well acquainted with the boys that come there.

January 16.—Discussed possible groups with Worth and am predisposed toward the Rangers, an athletic club verging on a gang that has seven or eight members. (Think I'll hang around the park awhile and see if I can't get acquainted with them informally. Would rather make a natural glide into their circle and be accepted more or less as one of them; let them know I am acquainted with Worth, but cast my lot with them. Worth says it's basketball with them just now, and I may get my chance as substitute or referee.)

January 17.—Visited the Square. It is in an industrial section near to the heart of the city. I had been in the neighborhood once before, two summers ago, but it's much more depressing and drab-looking at this time of the year. Railroads and factories completely wall the square mile of residential property in which the park is located, and the land is fairly well covered with monotonous rows of drab cottages. Dirty streets and alleys are covered with splotches of sooty snow and the atmosphere is heavy and grey with smoke clouds. This, together with the din of engines, street cars, trucks, and never silent machinery make this indeed a different world from the campus. Will do more browsing about the neighborhood in daytime.

Watched a ball game of the Midgets and saw a number of the Rangers around the dressing rooms. They are easily recognized by their cardinal uniforms with "RANGERS" across the front in white letters. They mingle mostly with their own bunch, shouting an occasional word of advice to the younger set of players, advice which usually consisted of the one word "razzberries." Didn't talk with any of the Rangers directly, but conversed with a Lithuanian boy and asked him what sort of fellows the Rangers were. He was most laudatory in his comments. Heard frequent references to the Rangers during the evening, and they were all of a commendatory nature.[1] They are evidently worshiped because of their athletic prowess and set the pattern for the younger groups.

Stopped in the office and got the data cards of the group. Eight boys are registered, and they certainly are a mixed lot; all were born in this city, but two are of Polish parentage, two of Bohemian parentage, two have German

[1] This statement would be more valuable if it gave concretely the remarks which were made.—Editor's Note.

fathers and Irish mothers, one is of American parentage, and one of Irish parentage. (I feel encouraged with the prospects of meeting the boys. They're *sans* smirks and living basket-ball; my chance of getting into touch with them seems via this interest.)

January 19.—Plotted the residences of the Rangers on the map and went over the collection of data on this community in the Social Research Laboratory. I have summarized this material and it has opened a number of questions.

January 20.—Made my first contact with a Ranger this evening. It was with J. M., commonly called "Chickie" by his pals. Worth had told me that he was the leader, the key to the group, and I have been on the lookout for a chance to strike up with him. It came this evening.

Was much surprised at first to hear that he was leader of the group, for he has a withered arm and cannot take part in athletics. But as I watched the group tonight his leadership was readily noticed. He is manager of the team and they all accept and rely upon his decisions. It is he who says who will play and who gives suggestions about the game. He is official timekeeper for the Rangers. Between halves "Rus" called Chickie several times until he caught his eye. Chickie shook his head and Rus went immediately to the dressing-room. That shake meant he was not to play second quarter, and Rus accepted it as a matter of course,

Between the halves Chickie is on the floor with the rest of the boys, making short baskets, discussing the game, and giving advice. He is quiet and orderly in his manner, but efficient. He almost inevitably speaks of "the gang" or "the team," creating the impression that he is always thinking of the group as a whole, and that its interests, rather than that of individual members, are the center of attention. If a fellow is hurt, however, he is relied upon, always the first to get to him, and again his knowledge of what to do is respected. It is interesting to note the relationship between Chickie and "Crabs," the captain of the team, and seemingly the "hard guy" of the fraternity. He is the best basketeer and is popular with the sidelines as well as his pals. But it is Chickie who makes the contacts between his team and the outsiders. He and Chickie seem to understand one another's place in the group and don't interfere in their lines of authority. (This will be one of the most interesting relationships of the group to study in detail.)

I stayed as close as I could to Chickie during the game, and made a few comments on the play which carried with them veiled suggestions. Chickie was quick to see the points, nodded his head in approval, and gave me one or two long appraising glances, showing his attention had been caught. By the end of the first half he had learned that I was in school, that I was enthusiastic about basket-ball, and that I had played forward on several teams. At the

end of the half the invitation came: "Com'on, meet the boys," and Chickie introduced me to the players as "My friend."[1] (I was glad to have the approach to the group sponsored by him.) My first meeting with the boys was brief, however. Chickie remarked, "Want you to meet 'Chill.' He's studying too; goin' to be a priest. He'll probably be heading home soon now. Always got some studying to do." These remarks were made with a tone of pride and tolerant attitude toward someone who was evidently different from the others. "Chill" was found on the sidelines, and I was introduced with the remark, "He studies too." (Evidently Chill's coat tails are to be another road to the group.)

The diary then proceeds with a description of the conversation with Chill.

There was a sizable crowd watching the game this evening and it was interesting to hear the reverential cries, "There's a Ranger," or "Here come the Rangers," as they came running onto the floor for the line-up. They are marked men in their own bailiwick.

The Rangers had an easy team this evening and made a cleanup, but I noticed that they looked glum and seemed to have something on their minds. I found out from their conversation in the dressing-room what it was. They are mixed weights, and the athletic instructor has tried to split them into teams according to their weights. There is universal rebellion.[2] "We gotta stick together" is a frequently repeated strain.

"Dutch" volunteered, "He's got it in for the Rangers because we wouldn't take part in his circus parade."[3] Two of the boys are well under the 125-pound class and are being taken to heavier games than the instructor feels they can stand physically. And two of the boys are beginning to top the 125-pound weight. "Fritz and I're going to pull in our belts and cut down" was the promise that Rus, the other heavyweight, reassuringly gave his comrades. The fine athletic ability of Dutch, the "baby" Ranger, covers his deficiency in size, and I have marveled at the ease and success with which he protects himself on the floor. Mike, though slightly larger than Dutch, is not as good a player and suffers more from being pitted against larger boys.

[1] In a report made by a director of recreation of an outside institution who interviewed "Chickie" formally in the office of the Square, he is reported as "Shy, fumbled his cap, and had little to say." This illustrates the effect of the social situation on behavior.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

[2] An apt illustration of how a social fact like group solidarity often escapes from weights and measurements.

[3] A competitive exhibition held annually in which the city parks are supposed to participate.

But he takes his drubbings unflinching, with an attitude of "What's a drubbing as against being allowed to play as a Ranger?" I've noticed Chickie will substitute one lightweight for the other if he notices the first up is getting too spent.

Snooks was not here to speak for himself. I gathered from the conversation that he is the member who has just moved four miles south to Fairwood, a residential suburb, because his family "got ritzy." He's out on "another heavy date" tonight, referred to with a tinge of pride and satisfaction. "He'll be here when we need him for the Rocks, a hard-boiled outfit that we gotta scrap next week." I asked if they had gang fights, and Chickie answered, "The Rangers are athletes; they don't have time to waste in gang fights."

January 23 and 24.—Have seen the Rangers in action twice in scrub games, and have been interested especially in watching their leader.

January 26.—Dropped in for a short time tonight at a square dance open to all the neighborhood and attended mostly by members of the different clubs and classes. I joined the Rangers, who were seated in a group at the south end of the auditorium. To my greeting, "Not dancing?" there came many nudgings and banterings. "Ask Mike about his North Side dates." Mike is the Apollo of the bunch, and he smiled wisely, apparently pleased with this retort. Chickie remarked, "Only dance with my sister; she's teaching tonight and couldn't come." Dutch was cutting his usual capers, imitating some of the dancers and wearing a hat at every conceivable angle while he made gargoyles from beneath it. The boys always seem to be laughing about something when they loaf around. Evidently girls have not interfered with the Rangers' athletic interest as yet.

Chill left early to study, and I accompanied him with the same excuse. He was carrying a history of the Reformation, *Hamlet*, and some Greek notebooks.

January 27.—Much bustle at the Square tonight. The Rangers, escorted by a group of about eighteen hero-worshipers who toted their traveling bags and trappings, left for James Park three miles to the north to do battle with the Rocks, a "hard-as-nails-Jews" team. Everyone was on tiptoe.

The crowd was gathered but there was a delay in departure. One of the Midgets (another younger club) explained to me, "It's bad luck to pay your fare to a game. If you do you'll lose, sure. Chuck (one of the Midgets) has been sent out to collect transfers for the crowd." After ten minutes' wait "Chuck" appeared with a handful of slips.

We boarded the car, Chuck passed the bogus transfers, and received new ones in exchange. We had ridden hardly a block when the conductor came into the car asking for the fellow who had given him the ancient transfers. Immediately all of the boys became interested in the wall advertisements and

stared blankly at the conductor when he questioned them directly. He couldn't find the culprit, for Chuck, as soon as he had received the good transfers, hustled to the front of the car, jumped off, and beat it hot-foot for the next car line intersection four blocks away, where it had been agreed he would again join us. We waited for him at the corner, the boys waving their goodbyes and thanks to the conductor who had been so good to them.

Chill and Rus, two of the heavier weights, were unable to come with the team, and their absence was commented upon with regrets because it was felt that the Rangers had a tough night ahead of them. Dutch and Mike were especially elated, for the absence of their brethren insured their getting a fling at the "toughs."

We arrived at the park just about ten minutes before the game was scheduled, and in a jiffy the Rangers were into their uniforms and on the floor spreading their stuff. The Rocks began living up to their reputation almost from the outset, and our five, not be to outdone, retaliated. The game got rougher and rougher. The half ended 15 to 12 in the Rocks' favor, with both teams aroused to white heat. It was found that Mike had sustained a broken finger, but had concealed it and played pluckily on. He was removed almost in tears and Dutch was substituted for him.

The second half opened with a snap. The boys' faces were distorted with glaring devilish looks of hatred that I had never before seen on them. Just before the end of the third quarter the explosion came. Dutch was socked by a Jew, and Snooks, who remarked afterward that he "couldn't stand by and see one of the gang in trouble," took a fling at the Rock. In a twinkling the floor was in an uproar. Almost simultaneously every Ranger made for Rock, and vice versa; the whistle blew and blew, and Chickie took a flying leap into the fray. His sheer weight was an important factor, and he and the captain of the other team managed to quell the fury. It was finally agreed that Dutch and the offender would fight it out back of the field house after the game, and that the teams would play out the contest. The rest of the encounter was played with a smouldering wrath, but with no more outbreaks. It was knocked down to the Rangers by one point with a free throw made just before the whistle blew. Our rooters went wild. I was interested in noting that the backers of the Rocks had displayed the same attitude toward the Rangers as our crowd had toward the Rocks. I don't believe the Rocks are any harder an outfit than the Rangers, but each one had a reputation in the other camp for being tough, and each team was prepared to meet the other one on that level. Also, each team was challenged in the presence of its followers and wanted to increase its prestige by "wiping up that tough lot."

After the game there was a rush for the appointed battle ground where Dutch and Scoots were to settle it." The Rangers were so elated by their

victory that there was talk of a general gang fight, but this was temporarily lost sight of in the interest in Dutch's task; he was three or four inches shorter than his opponent. The fight got nicely under way and the boys clinched. Chickie sprang to separate them and the park policeman charged in, breaking up the fight and dispersing the crowd. News of the proposed battle had evidently reached the park director and he had ordered it stopped.

The boys felt they should celebrate somehow, so at Dutch's suggestion they stopped at the intersection for hot tamales, and I left them there. There was a lot of talk about revenge and the wipeout, but I don't think they are really looking for a continuance of the scrap. The sense of what they ought to do in a situation like this seems to be back of the talk. There are things that are expected of a gang.

January 29.—Stopped by for Dutch and we went to the exhibit of the model aeroplane club which was on at the Square. As usual, the Rangers were in a huddle and there was talk of a gang fight in the air. Rus had met a Rock and been challenged to battle. The Rock had suggested that they "Com'on and meet them," but the Rangers "didn't want'a risk a spill in the Rocks' territory. There might be skulduggery." Chill, especially, spoke in vaguely restraining terms that suggested to me his consciousness of his priestly rôle, but I feel sure that if the fight does take place he will not be among the missing. Dutch had added a new coin to his collection and had brought all thirteen along to show the boys. He has been collecting six years. Conversation soon turned to the next week's game, one in the championship series with the Cardinals, "a clean bunch," and the gang fight was forgotten for the time being. (The bravado and hard talk seemed to increase when remarks were directed to me, or in my direction; this made me realize that I still have some distance to go in getting into the group.)

The complete diary extends over three months, giving more observations of the behavior of the Rangers and accounts of the further penetration of the investigator into their group life. In this study he was taking the part of what Lindeman calls the "participant observer,"[1] but with the emphasis upon observer. In some instances studies are made of groups in which the observer is an active member and the organization is really one of his own social groups. In that case, where participant and observer receive equal emphasis, the investigator is more in the heart of the group, but the objective attitude of the observer is pro-

[1] Edward C. Lindeman, *Social Discovery*, chap. viii, "Observation and the Participant Observer."

portionately harder to maintain. In the diary just presented the investigator quite evidently carried over his experiences in other athletic organizations and boys' groups, and these enabled him to participate in some of the Rangers' activities by sympathetic understanding before he was really admitted to them. It would be valuable to have three investigators reporting on the same group: an observer, a *participant observer*, and a participant *observer*, and compare their results.

BASED ON SPECIAL STUDIES OF THE GROUP—ASSIGNMENT 2: HISTORY OF THE GROUP

This is one of the special studies made of the group. The series included a study of each of the members, studies of leadership, of group conflicts, of social control, and of the relationships of this group to the community.

History of the Rangers

Source: This material has been compiled from casual conversations with the members of the group and with people employed at the Square. Prepared February 17, 1927.

The Ranger Athletic Club was organized three years ago. One can hardly say it was organized, in the usual sense of the term, for there is no formal organization, no charter or by-laws, elections, initiations, or passwords. It originated with five members, boys who had grown up in the neighborhood, had played around the Square "as long as they could remember," and had been recognized as a gang for a number of years. There was an older club known as the Rangers, and these boys had hung around on the fringes of their activities. Chickie proposed that they form themselves into the "Ranger Juniors," for "we got tired of being referred to as the gang," and he no doubt used what he knew about the older group as a model for the new organization. Soon after, the older group drifted away from the Square, and with their disappearance the new group dropped the "Junior" from their title.

The club meetings are held in one of the rooms at the field house every Monday evening, but the boys are around together at the park every night.

Chickie is manager, president, secretary, or whatever other officer the club ever needs. There are no dues, and there has been no change in the officers since the club started.

The original members still belong, and this year three new ones were admitted. All of these had won distinction—medals, ribbons, and badges—in athletic contests at the Square, in swimming, track, indoor baseball, and the 100-yard dash. Two of the boys were spotted as good athletic material by the Rangers and were invited to join. The prospective priest was engineered into the organization by Crabs, strangely enough, for Crabs is the only non-Catholic in the group. Chill and he were old friends, and, as Crabs put it, "He's a good gang man, but the Buckeyes were running too wild for him; he's going to be a priest, you know; so we took him in." Chill has a silver badge for the 100-yard dash, which he refers to reminiscently. This fact and his occasional plays with the team enables him to keep his place in the chief interest of the group though his studies make it impossible for him to

spend more than the week-ends with them. The attitude in the group is that he is "set apart," and they take his absences as a matter of course even when they lower their chance of winning, and sometimes cause the loss of a game.

Though the three newcomers have been in the club about only five or six months they are so well incorporated that I would not have known they were new had I not learned it by questioning. Dutch, another of the trio, is the youngest of the group, and the clown. He is always cutting up and is at the bottom of most of the jokes and fun. In this way he has evidently created his place in the group. Fritz, the third neophyte, seems to have slipped into the crowd unobtrusively. He plays a good game, doesn't talk much, and follows the group in whatever it does. He told me he had been a member of another gang, but they got to hanging around a poolroom and did petty stealing, so he quit them, "before I got to be a bum, too."

There is no formal initiation into the club. When they have agreed by verbal discussion to ask a man to join, the one who has proposed him invites him, and if he accepts he is *ipso facto* a member. "We had thought of doing something to the last man, but we never figured out what it would be."

Snooks is the only one who has moved out of the neighborhood, and he comes back for "big nights." I have a feeling that he is drifting away from the group, though the boys deny it whenever I mention the possibility. Two former members have been "dropped" by the club: an Italian boy "because he was a poor athelete," and an Irish boy "because he got to thinking he was too good for us."

The club plays basket-ball, football, and baseball. It is getting to be a tradition that they enter only those sports that require a team, where they can play as a group. Crabs, who is a star track performer, has refused repeatedly to go out for track because it is not an activity which the group will carry on; he is a real club man.

One of the outstanding events in the history of the Rangers was a two weeks' camping trip in Michigan on the farm of Crabs' grandmother. That was made the first summer after the club was organized, and the experience was probably an important force in welding the group together. It must have been a red-letter occasion in the lives of boys raised in this industrial section. The tale of that two weeks has been told over and over again until it has become a legend which even the new members can repeat with practically the same words and gestures. The boys are talking of another trip this summer, and it seems as though they will be able to work it. Dutch's chief ambition seems to be to "go camping with the Rangers."

This story of the camping trip is but one evidence of the closeness of the group. They are so constantly with one another that they talk alike and

think as one. It seems to be a common opinion around the Square, for instance, that any one of the members can answer for the group. If a question is raised by any of the park employees and they can get hold of one of the Rangers, his answer stands for that of the group; for each member is an active member and is informed as to all that concerns the club.

The group has gotten into the habit of managing its own affairs, and resents interference or discipline from the athletic department. They acquired this under the régime of the previous athletic instructor of the park, and they don't want to fall in line with changes which the new instructor is suggesting: the proposal, for instance, that they do some calisthenics, instead of spending all their time playing ball, has met with flat refusal. A suggestion that the team be split according to weights has resulted in the same way.

The club does not seem to have established feuds with any of the other gangs, though it does have occasional fights growing out of athletic contests, such as the one I witnessed. The boys seem to have many groups sized up, to know their reputation, and to know what to expect when they come into contact with them. If a chance for a scrap arises, or if they are challenged by a more bellicose gang, they jump into the fray and enjoy it as fully as anyone, but when it is over, that's that.

It is interesting to note that this group has persisted over three years of rather crucial change in the boys' lives. When they first formed they were fourteen or fifteen; now their ages range from sixteen to nineteen. With one exception the original five have left school and gone to work, have made outside contacts with a wider world. But this has not broken into their club life. That is still the center of their world, a thing to be hurried back to as soon as the day's work is over.

Comment.—This history is necessarily sketchy, as in order to build up my relationships with the members of the group I cannot be caught asking too many questions. The information has been gleaned bit by bit as an appropriate situation gave an opportunity for an appropriate off-hand question. Undoubtedly I shall be able to gather more detail in future conversations. This sketch does not, however, give a general picture of outstanding events in the history of the group. The boys live in the present; the past seems most evident in their thorough understanding of one another and their concerted action as a group. Their language is limited, and they express themselves in present actions rather than in reminiscences of the past.

BASED ON ASSIGNMENT 9: DOCUMENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

The student's analysis and sociological interpretation of the material in his diary and special studies of the Rangers is reproduced here. It is unfortunate that all of the data from which the analysis and interpretation are drawn could not also have been presented here.

I. Case Analysis

Community situation: Factors in the community situation that contribute to the existence and characteristics of the Ranger Athletic Club.

1. Gang life is traditional in Canalport. There have been "famous" and notorious gangs in the community for the past fifty years; their exploits and reputations have been part of the folklore of the neighborhood for the past fifty years. Everyone knows about them.

2. Gang life is essential for a boy to participate in the life of the community. Joining a gang partakes of the same spirit as joining a fraternity on a campus where every man belongs. Not to be selected as a member is to be left out of the activities of the community.

3. Canalport is a relatively stable, permanent community. Children grow up together, know one another intimately year after year, and have a natural basis for gang associations.

4. The families of the community are practically all of the same economic status—lower middle class. Low rents and nearness to industries which require unskilled labor have resulted in the segregation of a homogeneous economic class in this particular community. This is part of the extent to which division of labor can be carried in a great city; it can extend itself into the territorial group also.

5. Mobility in leisure-time activities is relatively low. The homes are humble; few families have automobiles, and little money left over for leisure-time pursuits. Boys are forced to find these near their own doorsteps.

6. Isolation and conflict have made the boys of the community conscious of being "Canalporters." The boundaries of Canalport are definitely marked by belts of railroad tracks and industry on three sides and the river on the other. For years there have been conflicts between gangs in Canalport and those on the other side of these barriers. Being a Canalporter forms an underlying link between all the boys of the different gangs in this area. This is the strongest evidence of community-wide consciousness that I found in Canalport.

7. Gang life in Canalport shows evidence of the melting-pot. Previously there were distinct gangs of Polish, Irish, Germans, Lithuanians, and Bohemians. The older generation still have organizations—benefit societies, lodges, building-and-loan associations organized along nationality lines. There are many gangs of young boys, however, like the Rangers, composed of boys of all nationalities, that indicate the extent to which interpenetration has taken place among these different nationalities.

8. Athletic clubs are the popular type of gang among Canalporters today. "Athletic Club" tacked on adds dignity to the organization. The title is often deceiving, for the athletic club may actually take many different forms. It may be a club whose interest is centered in athletics, like the Rangers; it may be organized for dances and social affairs only; it may be a political gang; it may be a criminal gang; or it may be any combination of these.

Immediate situation: Factors in their immediate social environment which contribute to the existence and present characteristics of the Ranger Athletic Club.

1. The residences of all the members (with the exception of one who has just moved away) are in the cosmopolitan neighborhood of Canalport, a neighborhood stituated toward the center of the community, on the fringes of neighborhoods that are distinctly Irish, German, Lithuanian, and Polish. Straggling families from those centers have spread into this neighborhood, and the population is a mixture.

2. The boys have all lived within three blocks of one another, and six of them still live within that range.

3. Five of the boys belong to the same parish church.

4. All of the boys but one have "hung around the Square ever since I can remember." They have been in and out of the various gymnasium and sport classes, and this has undoubtedly contributed to defining their interests in this way.

5. Five of them have had experiences in other kinds of gangs, gangs which gambled, did petty thieving, or hung around a poolroom, and they have consciously broken with that pattern of behavior and have chosen a gang in which the emphasis is upon athletics.

6. At the present time the Rangers are the senior athletic organization of the Square, and are "hero-worshiped" by a number of the younger groups. These younger groups expect certain behavior from the Rangers, and they in turn strive to live up to these expectations. This fact is illustrated in the spirit in which their first big social affair, a dance, was undertaken, and in their attitude in the fight with the Rocks.

7. The director of the Square and most of the old attendants and workers

recognize the Rangers as a group which must be dealt with as a social unit. A new instructor attempted to deal with them by scale weight. There was friction until his eyes were opened to the dominating group factor and he reversed his tactics. As a result he secured co-operation on the point of more calisthenics.

8. Six of the boys are employed and two are in school, but for seven of them the club activities are the ones in which their interests center at the present time. Whether this is true throughout the year or only during the winter months I do not know.

9. Through their athletic contests the boys come into contact with other gangs. Their gang fights seem to grow out of these contests, as in the case of the one with the Rocks, but even in this instance, though a continuation of the fight was agitated for some time, it did not occur. They seem too occupied with their practice and weekly contests to participate in feuds.

10. The group's behavior varies with the reputation and the behavior of the other groups with which they come into contact. This was most plainly shown in two consecutive contests in which they first met the Rocks, who they thought were "tough" and whom they approached with expectations of trouble, and the game of the following week in which they encountered the Cardinals, a group that had a reputation for "clean play." The Rangers had more at stake in the last contest, part of the championship finals, but they played in their best style, and took their beating with a few alibis as to the reasons why the other team succeeded.

The group: The most outstanding characteristics of the Rangers that were discovered in the case study.

1. It is an informal group, with practically no administrative machinery.

2. The group exists in the almost daily face-to-face associations of the members which have extended over a number of years.

3. The boys display a similarity in speech, ideas, and action that seems to have its basis in the constant frank association in which they "rag things over," each one spontaneously expressing what he thinks until an agreement, real not formal, is thus finally unconsciously arrived at.

4. Their mode of behavior as an athletic group seems to have become so habitual, so well defined, that it is difficult to see in it the processes by which agreement is reached. They have already built up their common ideals and patterns of action. Each one has his definite place, his definite function, and the organization runs smoothly.

5. Their mode of behavior as a social group was a new experience, however, and there were outbursts of friction before the plans for the dance were finally formulated and mutually accepted. Even then Snooks was not satis-

fied with the cuts in the expenses and consequent elaborateness of details which Chickie insisted on and finally carried. Mike and Snooks were undoubtedly the most active participants in this social undertaking, but Chickie's leadership, established through three years of concentration on athletics, held in the new situation. It is not difficult to predict, however, that if this social venture is repeated a number of times a habitual mode of group action will be gradually established in which Snooks and Mike will build up a leadership.

6. Conflict within the group is evidently avoided by the ousting of members who do not fit into it. One was dropped because he was a poor athlete and the other because "he thought he was too good for us."

7. The uniforms are their one insignia, and they take great pride in them. They showed me photos of their uniforms of previous years in order that I might see the superiority of these.

8. Most of the boys have created special rôles for themselves which bring them a certain amount of attention and commendation from other members of the group: Chickie as manager and president; Crabs as captain and dispenser of a summer outing; Chill as prospective priest and student; Dutch as the baby of the group, and the clown; Snooks as the social climber, who still stays within the pale of the group; Mike as the "handsome guy" and "ladies' man"; Rus for his stick-to-it-iveness and reliability; and Fritz, "the speechless," who is an outstanding athlete. These rôles have been defined in the activities of the group in sports, and new rôles began to emerge when a social affair was undertaken. The case of Snooks illustrates how the expectations of the group, based on the reputation which an individual acquires in it, tends to accentuate the behavior of the individual in certain directions and more clearly define his rôle.

II. Sociological Interpretation[1]

Community background.—Canalport is a real *community* that exists especially in the *attitudes* and influences the behavior of the boys of the area. *Physical barriers* define and *isolate* it from surrounding areas. Years of *conflict* with boys without the barriers have made those within conscious of the fact that they are Canalporters. The *mobility* rate of the area is low: (1)

[1] This is an example of practice research in which the student endeavors to apply the concepts and theories formulated by others and presented in textbooks to the concrete data which he has collected. Concepts and theories are listed and then used as the tools for interpretation. All concepts used are underlined. This interpretation differs, of course, from that of an experienced investigator who is attempting to discover new sociological interpretations; the latter would entail a more detailed study of each process.—Editor's Note.

families live in it year after year and this results in continued and intimate *social contacts* that form the basis of gang associations; and (2) most of the leisure-time activities of the boys are confined to their home area. *Economically* the community is *homogeneous*, representing a *segregation* within the city, based on the *division of labor*. From the standpoint of nationality it is *heterogeneous*, but the extent to which *assimilation* has taken place is demonstrated in the existence of these gangs of mixed nationality in which the boys of widely different home cultures think and act as one. Gang life is *traditional* and gang exploits are a part of the *folklore*. Athletic clubs of many *different patterns of behavior* exist.

Immediate situation.—The boys of the group live in the same immediate neighborhood, therefore the club and *interest* group have a definite *territorial* basis. The fact that this particular neighborhood is a cosmopolitan one has resulted in a mixed group, and influences the process of *assimilation*. Membership in the same church is another factor in this direction. The Square has been frequented by the boys for years and has *defined their interest* in athletics. It has been a *force for social control*, affording a common meeting place for the boys and setting the precedents for molding club life into its present pattern of behavior. As senior athletic organization, the group occupies a position of *prestige*, and its immediate following of hero-worshipers exert *social pressure* by their expectations and further define the behavior of the group. The *solidarity of the group* is generally recognized around the Square, and the effort of one instructor to *disorganize* it met with *rebellion*. The boys have other *contacts*, especially through their work and schools, but these seem of secondary importance to those of the gang. It is in this group that they seem to find satisfaction for their *fundamental wishes*. Their contacts with other gangs seem to be of two types: *rivalry*, regulated by the *codes* of athletic contests, and *conflicts*, regulated by the *traditional patterns* of gang warfare current in the community.

Group life.—The club is an informal, elementary form of *social organization* in which the processes which go on can be readily observed. It is a *primary group* in which the contacts among the members are made on face-to-face, intimate, and almost daily associations. Group *consensus* seems to be arrived at through spontaneous free-for-all discussions of everything that concerns the group. Things "ragged out" in this way in the past have become group habits or *customs* which even a *gesture* is sufficient to initiate, because of the social meaning which it has acquired. A nod of the head, for instance, is sufficient to call a man off the floor. The *solidarity* of the group is consciously recognized both by its members and by most of the people in the immediate social environment. The failure to recognize this solidarity results in an increased and open avowal of it. The *codes* and *mores* universally

set up in this country in athletic procedure influence the membership of the group in situations which they regard as athletic contests, and result in *accommodations*. But in a situation which they regard as local gang warfare they seem to be governed by their conceptions of what is expected in gang *warfare*. Their uniforms are a *collective representation* or *symbol* which quickly identifies them on the sidelines. A *folk-way*, based on *superstition*, is their manner of riding to games without paying for their fares. Within the group each member has his definite *rôle* and *status* which has been evolved out of their group life and is reinforced and more sharply defined by the conscious recognition of it both by the group and by each one of the members.

APPENDIX C

CASE STUDY OF AN IMMIGRANT GROUP

An initial statement of a student with respect to an immigrant community with which he is associated and three case studies of members of this community are presented as illustrations of parts of the study of an accommodation group. The colony selected for study lies within Canalport, the community discussed also in Appendix A and Appendix B.

Some changes have had to be made in these case studies of individuals in order to conceal identity, and certain material has had to be taken out. But in general the essence of the original document has been maintained.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

STUDENT'S CASE INTERPRETATION[1]

(*a*) People have a *categorical* conception of a group which is foreign to them; they have a general attitude toward the group as a whole, and treat each member of it as a member of the *class*, not as an individual. This is because they have had few primary, intimate, face-to-face contacts with individuals in the group, and have gained their knowledge of it indirectly. There is, however, considerable *stratification* and *variation* among individuals belonging to any group.

(*b*) This *pattern of leadership* was transplanted from the Old World and maintained during the early days on this soil while the Lithuanians were beginning to make their adjustments to American life. Gradually, however, a new leadership is emerging; local politicians, real estate and other business men who have made the adjustment to American life are leaders in bridging the gap between the Lithuanian colony and the rest of the city. These men still get their backing within the Lithuanian colony, are still regarded as Lithuanians by the American group, but their culture is a mixture of the old and new. Their life-histories would throw light on the processes of assimilation and accommodation.

(*c*) With their eyes fixated on the problems of the Old World, the radical leaders have proved themselves *conservative forces* in many ways. They have, with few exceptions, paid little attention to the problems of the new life, and spend their time in a mental world of foreign culture. Probably some of their *eccentricities* may be traceable to this *isolation* from the current life and their absentee relationship to a life with which they no longer have first-hand contact.

(*d*) People's religious loyalties seem to change slowly. Habits, traditions, customs, early associations, unrational and emotional "pulls" can be carried over in the church when in many other phases of life radical changes are necessary.

[1] This represents another technique of case analysis. Students find it a clear, facile way of handling data. In the Judge Baker Foundation Studies extensive use is made of this parallel system.

BASED ON ASSIGNMENT 3: FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF THE AREA[1]

Description of the Colony

Most people in the city think of this section as a place where people of the same type live—all Lithuanians. But to one who really knows it, great variations are apparent. The people are really all Lithuanians, but there are professional people, laborers, business men, skilled mechanics, artists, musicians, nationalists, church people, and socialists. It is a mixture that almost makes the neighborhood a small town in itself (see *a*, "Student's Case Interpretation").

What we think of as the Lithuanian neighborhood is contiguous to the manufacturing district, in an area bounded by ———, though of course the boundaries are not rigid and many families live without them. It is frequently stated that there are one-hundred thousand Lithuanians in the city, and that one-third of these live in Canalport.

The dynamic forces in the community are the leaders of the three groups, the socialists, the clericals, and the nationalists. Lithuania has always been a peasant nation, and the priests and intellectuals have fought over the direction of affairs for many years. They are still the powers to be recognized in this colony in the new world (see *b*, "Student's Case Interpretation").

The socialists are the most extreme group, and they contain a wide variety of radicals. For the most part their leaders were exiled, or practically exiled for their participation in Lithuanian uprisings against Russia, and they continued their interest over here, printing tracts, pamphlets, etc., to send into Lithuania, helping to finance new uprisings, affording homes for political refugees, and in general doing whatever they could to further their cause. They change their "isms" every once in a while and seem to have the habit of always standing on the opposite side of any established order. They are bitterly opposed to the clergy, whom they consider their arch-enemies (see *c*, "Student's Case Interpretation").

The clerical group, headed by the priests, still maintains considerable influence, especially over the average person. They have built up the largest Lithuanian parish in this country, and their handsome new church edifice is one of the largest buildings in the community (see *d*, "Student's Case Interpretation").

[1] This illustrates an alternative study substituted for the "First Impressions" (p. 137) by a student who is already familiar with the colony to be studied. This particular document was prepared by a Lithuanian student who had lived in the colony a number of years and who is still in close contact with the life of the area.

(*e*) The policy of the nationalists is manifestly one of *accommodation.* They desire the hyphenated American, the man who retains many of the essential cultural traits of his native land. They center their attention especially upon the second and third generation, children reared in this country, because these constitute the group which is rapidly becoming *assimilated* and losing the cultural heritage of its parents.

(*f*) The agitator's rôle may become so fixed that it is habitual. A negativistic attitude toward the social order may become so much a habit that it is an end in itself. As in this case, there is no longer an immediate issue (see case 7 also).

(*g*) Two types of conflicts are illustrated here: (1) the conflicts among factions within the same nationality, (2) the conflicts between people of two nationalities. The first type of conflict is among people who are close together, who speak the same language, have the same customs, share in the same traditions, and are conscious of belonging to the same nationality group. Their conflicts are bitter, but there is always an underlying sense of *security*, a feeling that nothing can break them asunder and that they will go on disputing continually. This leads to *organized conflict*, to the planning of attacks and counter-attacks and to rationalizations. The second type of contact is between two groups who are distinct in many ways but have been next-door neighbors for years, have had numerous contacts, have suffered under a common enemy, and have had frequent disputes. The conflict is more *categorical*, the *social distance* between the groups being greater than in the first case, and there is less discussion and more emotional, unrationalized expression of the discord.

The attitude of the child *categorically* labeling the worst deed he could think of as being performed by the conflict group is of a kind with stories of atrocities always current during a war. It also illustrates a *social heritage* unreflectively taken over by the child.

All these conclusions are suggested tentatively from the rather meager data presented here. More specific studies are necessary to establish them with more certainty and exactitude.

The nationalist group mediates, and sometimes cuts across, the other two. Its members are interested in keeping alive Lithuanian customs, folklore, music, dances, and language in this country, though they also want the Lithuanians to learn the American tongue and to adapt themselves to American ways. They give concerts, plays, and dances for the benefit of Lithuanian war orphans, the establishment of schools in Lithuania, and for other relief purposes. It is this group that has raised most of the funds that have been sent across the water. Many of them have been clericals and socialists in turn, and their connection with the nationalist group is a recoil from the others (see *e*, "Student's Case Interpretation").

Each group publishes its own newspaper, using it to set forth its opinions and launch its attacks on the others; there are long-drawn-out controversies in which they answer each other back and forth over some issue. Each group has its own forum where discussions and lectures are held. My father says that these people have gotten so into the habit of fighting for causes, of getting out propaganda, that they will always find something to fight for. I remember seeing a group of socialists carry the body of one of their deceased comrades to the door of the church and hold mock rites over it, and the controversies sometimes go beyond the verbal bantage (see *f*, "Student's Case Interpretation").

The old hard feeling between the Poles and the Lithuanians has been especially noticeable lately because of the Vilna controversy and because of the fact that the Poles in the neighborhood to the east of the Lithuanians have been spreading westward, crowding in upon the Lithuanians. The antagonism between the Poles and Lithuanians has been played upon so long by politicians that it seems to be ingrained in the mass of people. Two illustrations will show what I mean. I was in the C—— (a community house) the other day and saw a little Lithuanian boy looking at a book and muttering and gesticulating angrily to himself. He was looking at a colored picture of the Crucifixion and saying, "Dirty Pollacks, dirty Pollacks; hanging God." I was told by one of the people connected with the institution that for a time both nationality groups used the place, and then the Lithuanians began to come in greater numbers. Polish women began to shake their fists as they passed the house, shouting, "Lugans, Lugans, Lugans," their derisive name for the Lithuanians. This type of feeling is quite widespread between the two groups (see *g*, "Student's Case Interpretation").

The Lithuanians still preserve some of their native customs, and even where families have become Americanized in many ways they usually revert to them in connection with celebrations. One can still find families who spread clean hay over the table on Christmas Eve (though now they cover the hay with a cloth), eat fish and vegetables with no meat or milk, and invite in less fortunate people as their guests. Some of the old peasant dishes are revived at that time and seem a delicacy, though if they constituted part of the everyday diet, as they did in the Old Country, they would lose that

glamor. One still sees funerals wending their way to the church with friends carrying the casket and mourners walking beside. An old woman sometimes accompanies the procession, crying forth the good deeds of the deceased. This procession is a revival of the old life when the church was usually located at one end of the village and the burying-ground at the other.

Lithuanians began coming into this neighborhood in large numbers about twenty years ago. One used to see them coming in on wagons with their trunks behind them, the women with their peasant blouses, cow-skin coats, and fur caps. Now they come in one or two at a time, dressed in the current fashion, and are "taxied" to the homes of their friends.

My father arrived before there were many Lithuanians in the city, and he became adjusted to the American life more quickly as a result. We have lived away from the colony for years, but we still have many friends in it whom we visit frequently.

The student's position is that of a detached observer who yet has intimate contacts with the group. As a member of the second generation he is not vitally touched by many of the issues that concern the older generation born in the homeland.

BASED ON ASSIGNMENT 6: LIFE-HISTORIES OF IMMIGRANTS

DOCUMENT 7

Confidential files
Lithuanian colony, Canalport
Socialist

This case study is made of a man with whom I am slightly acquainted. The data was obtained from (1) casual conversations with the man, (2) listening to him at forum meetings, and (3) comments which other people have made concerning him. Documented May, 1927.

Mr. A is one of the leaders of the socialist group, educated, and a brilliant writer and speaker. He is one of the most bitterly hated enemies of the clerical party because of his satire and ridicule.

I gained the story of his coming to America from conversations with him:

I was a member of the student group of revolutionists at the University of ——— and took part in the uprisings of 1905 and 1906. I was sent out into the country before the revolution was called to distribute literature and arouse the peasants to take a stand for their rights. I tacked tracts on the trees and held secret meetings, sometimes by candle light in the densest part of the woods, and sometimes in underground dugs. We failed in the revolution and I was sentenced to Siberia. I escaped through the winter snows of Germany into France. At Paris I met more of my comrades and we set to work at once, for though we were interested in Lithuania, our cause is universal. But the French government became suspicious, and when we got word that we were to be arrested we fled to England. I was there for two years when the Lithuanian ——— sent me money to come to America, as they needed me in the fight over here. Here we could work unhampered and we printed many tracts and pamphlets and flooded Lithuania with them.

For a long time after his arrival Mr. A refused to learn English, and at the present time he speaks it only brokenly. Commenting upon this, he said: "The fools, don't they know that in a hundred years or so there will be a different language in this country which an American of today will not be able to understand, a language made up of all the different speeches? Why should all that is different be crushed out of the foreigners of the country?"

He has expressed himself several times with regard to the present trend of Socialism in the community. "The Socialists have lost their ideals for the dollar. In the old country they were idealists. When they first come here they are socialists; when they take out their first papers they become Democrats; and by the time they have their second papers they are sure to be Republicans. There is not much thrill now in being a Socialist. People's opinions have changed and are charged with a certain freedom of thought. There

was more thrill in the early days in this country when conditions were so bad for us, and there was even more thrill back in Russia."

Mr. A's name has been connected with a recent difficulty in the colony. He has been accused of receiving more than his share of funds in a given enterprise. "He's become materialistic with success and has forgotten his Socialist principles," was the statement made by another leading member of the party.

DOCUMENT 12

Confidential files
Canalport Lithuanian neighborhood
Nationalist

Mr. K is an old friend of our family, and my information concerning him has come through many contacts.

Upon his graduation from high school at the age of seventeen, Mr. K left Lithuania for America. The Z boys had come back from the New Country on a trip and had spoken eloquently of the opportunities over here. So Mr. K decided to come. He was on his way, via England, when his meager fund was stolen, so he had to remain in that country two years in order to get enough to complete his journey. "I didn't like England. There were so few of my countrymen there, and it was so hard to mix in or feel that you belonged."

Upon his arrival in the city he got a night job shoveling coal and attended a technical school in the daytime. While nearing his degree there he became interested in a profession, and his better command of language and his versatility made it possible for him to put himself through a professional school with ease after he finished his technical course.

Since about 1910 he has taken an active part in the revival of Lithuanian music and dances. Since Lithuania is primarily a peasant nation, she has had practically no literature of her own, and Mr. K has assisted in translating several of the classics of English literature into his native tongue. He was closely associated with Mr. X, who has done more than anyone else to revive Lithuanian culture and who has returned to Lithuania to an important government post.

The nationalist leaders have started many singing societies in the colony and support several girls whom they have sent back to Lithuania to collect folk music.

Just after the war Mr. K returned to his country for a visit. Since then it has been his ambition to "make his pile" and then return to Lithuania to live. "I want to spend my days in peace and happiness, to enjoy culture in a land where it and beauty are emphasized instead of the almighty dollar." His professional work keeps him in the colony and he has little opportunity

to mix with his equals; he is shut off from the corresponding group in American society, and he finds few people interested in the things he likes. In Lithuania it is different; there he is free to come and go in the cultured group. I think that explains his attitude and his wish to go back to the Old Country to live.

Document 14

Confidential file
Canalport
Lithuanians

Source: Written by a student who was raised in the Lithuanian community of Canalport.

An immigrant child faces many problems, the existence of which the American is never conscious. My own experiences, I know, have been less severe than those which many of my friends have gone through, but still they have left their mark.

My parents brought me to America when I was eight years old. We came directly to this city, where several distant relatives and a number of home friends had come before us. My family settled just on the outskirts of the colony in Canalport, and, alas for me, the two blocks away meant that I had to attend a school where there were no other Lithuanian children.

I was large and awkward for my age, wore clothes that must have seemed outlandish to the other children, spoke practically no English, and was put into a class with smaller and younger children. They ridiculed me and called me "Dino." The teacher was no better than the children. She had no patience with my blunders, and joined in the laughter of the children. It was torture. I begged my parents to take me out of school or to move over into the colony where I could be with children of my own nationality. But they were anxious to have me become "Americanized," and thought that the chance to be with Americans was a help.

As I look back upon it now I can see that this school experience did a great deal toward making me stay always a Lithuanian. I considered my home more and more of a refuge to return to as quickly as possible from the taunting of the children, and the contrast between their cruel treatment of me and the kindness and sympathy of my parents made me stand up for my own nationality. Their ridicule did not make me ashamed of the fact that my parents and I were immigrants, and I have not changed my attitude.

During the time I spent at home I did a great deal of reading, and more and more I got used to being alone and shunning the other children. Whenever I sat down at home my mother would place a book in my hands; she

wanted me to be a scholar. She had a better education than my father, and has always been hungry for more. When she finished the common school in Lithuania she won first prize in the government examinations and was awarded tuition and part of her expenses in a girls' school in a town close by. Her parents were too poor to send her, and she was needed for work on the farm. The prize she won, a book, is always on our parlor table, almost a family altar, a symbol of my mother's hopes, to be realized in me.

When I go to the library downtown to study mother likes to go with me. She just sits and watches. She is always eager to go because she likes the feel of so many books around her. The first time I asked her to come with me she went for her shawl. I felt embarrassed and explained that people did not wear shawls to the library. She understood quickly and waited until the next day, when she came with an American hat, the first she had purchased. That is the way I always explain American ways to my people; I never make fun of them, and they always try to change to please me. All through my high-school days, and now that I am in college, my mother makes these occasional trips to the library with me.

I have never been in a real American home, and the few friends I do have belong to my own nationality. Yet I am almost a double personality. When at school I speak the American language and try to be as nearly like the others as possible. I am not always dressed as well as I would like to be, but my parents are giving me all they can afford, and I never let them know how I feel. At home I am an entirely different person. I speak Lithuanian entirely, use respectful addresses toward my parents, and obey them as a son should. It is always a pleasure to be at home. In the homes of many of our Lithuanian friends the children sass their parents and act superior to them, so there is constant fighting; but in our home it is always peaceful. We three understand each other so well, and treatment of my parents is based on a genuine respect for them.

My father and mother rely on me for many things. "You know the ways of America; you look out for this," is frequently spoken as they ask me to take care of some business matter. I have done this for years. I always tell them what courses I am going to take at the University. They listen and always say, "You know best: we trust you to decide."

I tremble and am scared when I think of how much they rely on me. I am the only one in our group of Lithuanian friends who is being sent to college. The other families have all advised against it and tell my parents that they are wasting money and that I am wasting my time. It is mother who usually answers them, saying that I will make good, wait and see. They all think a lot of the professions and of someone with learning, but it is money that is the test of success with them. To a certain extent this is also true of

my parents; they think that an educated person will be a success financially. It seems to me, though, that I would make more money in business.

At school I am handicapped in competition with American students. They have so much background in their homes, and most of them have had so many more opportunities than I have. They know how to fit in in a way I do not. I feel this difference keenly. And yet so much more seems to be expected of me than is expected of these students. I have never won a prize, like my mother, but she still has faith in me. I suppose I shall hang out my shingle among my own people and find my solution there.

APPENDIX D

FORMS AND SPECIAL OUTLINES

If a social research laboratory is established and numerous studies of a community are being made it will be found useful to keep control files in which information that is constantly needed is briefly summarized and made easily accessible. The larger the laboratory, the greater the number of studies being conducted, and the longer the period covered, the more numerous and the more intricate these forms will have to be. A few of the more simple forms used in the Chicago studies are presented here, inasmuch as we have frequent requests concerning them.

Special outlines are constantly needed to supplement the Type Studies and gain more data about some important phase of a group which is being studied. Three of the outlines are included to indicate this kind of material.

FORM I

Name _____ Date _____
Address _____ Class _____
Phone _____ Instructor _____
Permanent Address _____

1. Previous courses in sociology and where taken _____

Number of courses in each of the following: Psychology Biology History Political Science Political Economy Social Service Philosophy
Major interest _____

Other interests _____
2. For what occupation are you preparing _____
Employment (indicate whether paid or volunteer work)
Present _____

Past _____
3. What languages other than English do you read fluently _____
What languages other than English do you speak fluently _____
4. Have you had experience in map making, drafting, interviewing, statistical work _____
5. In what communities have you lived? (give name, size, and type)

With what communities in this vicinity are you acquainted, and what phases of the community life do you know best?

What groups would you be most interested in studying?

Study selected _____ Completed _____ Grade _____ File ___
Comments of supervisor:
Consultant: Subjects _____
Contacts with laboratory:

Personal record of the investigator. This is filled out by the student and gives the instructor a basis for the conference with him in which the decision is made as to his research project. It is then kept as a permanent record and is especially valuable if the student continues his connection with the laboratory as a consultant.

FORM II

CLASSIFICATION: General Recreation IV

MAP SHOWING: Dance Halls and Cabarets

SOURCE OF DATA: License Bureau City Hall

PERIOD COVERED: Jan. 1, 1923—Dec. 31, 1924.

BASE USED: Zoning 22 PLOTTED BY: Smith, J., and Lewis, W. February, 1924.

TECHNIQUE OF PLOTTING: Black dots—dance halls; red—cabarets. Size indicated by size of dot: 1–299; 300–499; 500–999; 1,000–1,499; 1,500 and over. Number of the case indicated.

SUMMARY OF INDICATIONS OF DATA: (1) Shows same general trend of decentralization as motion picture map, but distance of decentralization action is greater, on an average. (2) All dance halls and cabarets located near movie, but all outlying movies do not have dance halls and cabarets adjacent; movie a more popular institution. (3) The two nearest and largest dance halls have been built farthest from center of city.

SUGGESTIONS: (DATE OF NEXT STUDY, SOURCES, TECHNIQUES, BASE, ETC.):
New maps by five-year periods are desirable.
Plot on map showing satellite business centers.
Nationality and type of patronage might also be indicated in studies of individual dance halls.

REVISED_____19____ COPIED March, 1927; photostated, 1927.

If many maps are being made it is desirable to have a file index in which more data concerning each map may be kept than is contained on the map legend. These cards may also be supplemented by a document which gives a full discussion and interpretation. The person who makes a map knows surprisingly more about it than anyone else, and much of permanent value is lost unless these records are made by him.

INTERVIEWER: J. M. Brown
CLASS: Sociology 11
STUDY: Canalport—Social History

FORM III

RECORD OF INTERVIEWS

Informant and Address	Occupation, Interest, Rôle	Date of Interview	Length of Interview (Hours)	Remarks: Co-operation, Value, Suggestions for Further Approach
Mrs. Patrick O'Hara 2022 Bridge Street	Born in Canalport in 1856, and has lived there all her life	August 15, 18, 23, 1926	3½	Easily approached. Interested in having *early history* recorded. Knows little about the present situation
John Kelley 2916 Canal Street	Born in Canalport in 1858. Active in local politics—ward committeeman until 3 years ago. Active in Irish organizations in Canalport	August 16, 1926	3	Likes to discuss old times. Has a general fund of knowledge about the entire area, and gives reliable data. Can be approached at any time for *clues* and suggestions
Ralph Erdman 2202 Canal Street	Has had a real estate office in Canalport for the past fifteen years. Knows a great deal about subdivision history, changes in land values, and present trends	August 16, 1926	½	Must be reached by appointment. Has little time to give, but is co-operative and will answer definite questions. Interested especially in new *apartment development* in Canalport
Frank Regan 1201 Maple Avenue	Policeman attached to the Canalport station off and on for past eighteen years. Knows about gang life and local politics	August 18, 1926	1	Guarded in his statements. Experienced interviewer needed to get the real dope. Should be approached at home

FORM III—*Continued*

Informant and Address	Occupation, Interest, Rôle	Date of Interview	Length of Interview (Hours)	Remarks: Co-operation, Value, Suggestions for Further Approach
Dr. William Casey 2301 Canal Street	Practicing physician in Canalport 32 years; knows the people intimately; his name is frequently mentioned	August 18, 1926	½	Have an appointment for interview
Arthur Dayman 2805 Green Street	Executive secretary, Canalport Community Council. Interested in co-ordinating work of business, social, and civic agencies in Canalport	August 20, 1926	1	Mr. Dayman has collected much valuable data on Canalport and is now making a study of the *incoming Mexicans*. Will allow us to digest data in his office

The interview sheets, printed or mimeographed on notebook paper, are filled in by each investigator and give a handy record of contacts which have been made in the field. Such records are of service in making return visits, in finding out who knows about a certain phase of a given social area, or in avoiding duplication in interviewing. The data can be transferred to central files, using a separate card for each person interviewed.

SPECIAL OUTLINES

I. GRADE SCHOOL ESSAYS

Where the co-operation of school teachers in the upper grades can be obtained it is possible to secure important facts concerning a territorial group or an immigrant group by having children write compositions dealing with their personal experiences. The instructions given the children should be simple, adapted to the particular grades in which they are to be used, and may be fitted into a course in English or in civics or social science. The spontaneous expressions which children give often mirror the current attitudes of their social group, revealing its mores, folkways, and values.

The following topics outlined appropriated for children have been used successfully as themes:

1. Places I have lived, and what I liked and disliked about them.
2. What occupation I am going to follow, and why. (A statement of the occupations of the members of the family, and the development of the child's interest in this one, should be included.)
3. What I did on Saturday and Sunday.
4. The story of my life.
5. A list of terms may be given and the children asked to write paragraphs telling what they know about each one: prohibition, bootleggers, elections, a given foreign or racial group, labor unions, etc.

Where such themes and questions have been made use of in the Chicago studies the papers and answers to the children vary significantly with each area, giving much insight into its inner life.

II. STUDY OF A BUSINESS CENTER[1]

A more minute study of a business area generally brings returns. For, as pointed out by Dr. E. H. Shideler,[2] different social areas have different types of business centers, and each type is an index of a particular kind of social life and social organization. Studies of the various business centers within a governmental unit may be compared in order to throw more light upon each of the social areas within it.

1. Make a map of the business center, extending two or three blocks in each direction, showing the location of each store and labeling its usage. Where a building is more than one story high, plot each story, showing its use. Also indicate vacant land, or vacant floors in buildings.
2. Take a traffic count of pedestrians passing a given corner at certain

[1] A special outline to supplement that presented on pp. 61–62.

[2] Shideler, E. H., "The Business Centre as an Institution," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. 9, No. 4.

selected times (3:00–4:00 on Saturday afternoon; Saturday evening, 7:30–8:30; and on the corresponding hours during a week day afternoon and evening).

3. While the traffic count is being taken, observations on the following points should also be made: (*a*) Weather conditions. (*b*) Type of persons passing the corner: age; sex; What are they doing, loitering? How are they dressed? Language spoken? (*c*) Describe street incidents which occurred. Did pedestrians greet one another in passing?

4. Follow the crossing streets through for a mile in each direction and note the changes which occur in each successive block.

5. Compare data with similar studies of other centers and interpret the results.

III. LOCAL COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS

Local community newspapers are the source of much data, and a file of clippings is a useful supplement to the central body of material concerning an area. The following uses have been made of the news sheets:

1. Clip and classify items. Two copies of each issue are necessary, so that material on each side of the sheet may be used. Each clipping should be dated, and if there is more than one local paper the source should also be recorded. Clippings should be classified, and the following headings have been found of service: (*a*) Organizations (with subheadings under this for specific organizations). (*b*) Community leaders, and business and professional men. The file of organizations and community leaders will form a social directory. (*c*) Human interest stories; personals and "newsy" events. (*d*) Historical sketches. (*e*) Proposed local improvements. A series of items concerning any one local improvement and reporting the moves made to secure it, the attempts to build up public opinion, and the controversies over it, may give a vivid picture of how a community gets something done. (*f*) Local politics. This varies, of course, more political news being published around election time. (*g*) Social pathology. Cases of crime, delinquency, truancy, poverty, etc.

2. Make maps showing the circulation area of paper, rooming-house districts (by plotting rooms advertised for rent), organization centers, etc. If the paper has been in existence for some time, similar maps can be made for different periods. A chart can also be made to show changes in the volume of circulation.

3. The number of inches of columns given to different types of material can be measured in a sampling of the papers and averaged: column inches given over to personal items, organizations, nation-wide and world news, local advertising, outside advertising, local community projects, political news, syndicate filler, and so on. This statistical data can be compared with

(1) similar measurements from newspapers of other communities, (2) similar measurements of this newspaper at earlier periods. From this study it should be possible to derive (1) types of newspapers and (2) to correlate type of newspaper with type of social organization in the area.

4. The editor of the paper should be interviewed to secure information as to his policies, his conception of the function of his paper, his relationship to organizations and leaders in the community, and his attitudes on community questions.

The co-operation of the editor is an asset to any research laboratory, and from time to time students may publish articles reporting some of their research findings. A few old settlers' stories (published, of course, with the consent of the informant) will lead other old residents to volunteer their service and arouse the community's interest in its past.

A query column, asking for dates, names, or other specific facts which investigators are unable to discover may be made a fruitful source for information.

5. The newspaper material should be critically evaluated: Is the writing sensational? Accurate? Are some columns more representative of the community life than others? What personal biases of the editor and reporters have to be taken into consideration in using newspaper items as data?

INDEXES

INDEX OF NAMES

Abbott, Edith, 133
Allen, E. W., 18
Anderson, Nels, 73
Aronovici, Carol, 50

Barnes, Harry Elmer, 33, 65, 70, 82, 92, 111, 113, 116, 119, 122, 140
Bogardus, Emory S., 18, 32, 70, 122, 179, 191
Brinton, Willard Cope, 191
Brown, Warren B., 105
Brunhes, Jean, 65
Burgess, E. W., 18, 21, 32, 56, 65, 70, 82, 92, 111, 113, 116, 119, 122, 140, 147, 152

Case, Clarence M., 65, 70, 82, 92, 110, 122, 140, 146
Cavan, Ruth, 182
Chaddock, Robert E., 33
Chapin, Stuart F., 18, 33
Cooley, Charles H., 32, 37, 105

Darwin, Charles, 8
Davis, Jerome, 65, 70, 82, 92, 111, 113, 116, 119, 122, 140

Ellwood, Charles, 18
Elmer, Manuel C., 33, 56

Fairchild, H. P., 133
Flinn, Fred Morrow, 199

Galpin, C. J., 56, 65, 67
Gehlke, C. E., 33
George, Dorothy M., 24
George, Rev. H. D., 33
Giddings, Franklin H., 18, 32, 33, 49, 184

Hall, E. H., 192
Hart, Hornell, 70, 116, 119, 140, 146
Hayes, Edward C., 65
Healy, William, 33
Hertzler, J. B., 33
Hobson, E. W., 18
House, Floyd N., 18

Jevons, W. Stanley, 18, 167, 207

Kolb, J. H., 105
Kreuger, E. T., 146

Langlois, Charles V., 25, 197
Lindeman, Edward C., 18, 33, 104, 167

McLaughlin, Isabella C., 33
Malthus, T. R., 8
Melvin, Bruce L., 18
Miller, Herbert A., 133
Mowrer, E. R., 18, 33, 182
Mukerjee, Radhakamal, 65
Myrick, Helen L., 179, 199

Ogburn, William F., 33

Park, Robert E., 56, 65, 74, 82, 92, 106, 111, 113, 116, 119, 122, 133, 140, 147, 152
Pearson, Karl, 167
Pettit, Walter W., 56

Ravitch, Jessie, 152
Ripley, W. Z., 191
Ritchie, A. A., 18
Ross, Edward A., 133

Sanderson, Dwight, 56
Seignobos, Charles, 25, 197
Shaw, Clifford R., 33
Sheffield, Ada E., 179, 199
Simmel, Georg, 117
Steiner, Jessie, 56

Teggert, Frederick J., 33
Thomas, Franklin, 33
Thomas, W. I., 133, 134

Thrasher, Frederic, 70, 105
Weatherly, Ulysses G., 105
Webb, Sidney and Beatrice, 179
Westaway, F. W., 18, 192, 207
Williams, James M., 56
Wissler, Clark, 70
Wolf, A., 18, 33, 207
Young, Erle Fiske, 191
Yule, G. Ulny, 33
Znaniecke, Florian, 133

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Accommodation: process of, 131–32, 146–52; of immigrant group, 129–51; illustration of, 258

Analysis (case): objectives of, 11–14; of territorial group, 99; of interest group, 127–28; of immigrant group, 151; general discussion of, 200–204; illustrations of, 233–36, 248–51

Analysis chart: of territorial group, 99–100; of immigrant group, 151; discussion of, 202–3

Assimilation: process of, 131–32, 142, 146, 152; illustration of, 249, 252

Attitudes: as sociological data, 36–37, 98, 114, 141, 170, 251; *see also* Data, criticism of

Base map, 65, 187–88; illustration of, 222

Basic assumptions, 34–37

Business center: map of, 27, 222–23; special outline for study of, 222–23

Case-study method: general discussion of, 19–22; techniques of, Part III, 22–23, 26, 28; compared with other methods, 30–31, 35; bibliography of, 32–33

Cases: characteristics of, 7, 21, 201; specimen case, 21, 203; negative case, 15, 22, 163, 205; marginal case, 22, 163

Centers of community: 61–62, 67, 97, 100; illustration of, 235–36; special study of business center, 272–73

Chronological digest, 85; illustration of, 214–17, 253

Classification: common-sense, 4, 12, 13; objectives of scientific, 11–12; kinds of, 12–14; techniques of, 203–4

Collective representations, 123, 141

Communication, 41, 65–66, 168–69

Community, 41, 49, 52, 70, 97, 125–26, 251

Comparison, 22, 204

Concept, 14–15, 35, 251

Conflicts, 83, 109, 119–21, 132, 141, 146; illustrations of, 236, 248, 258

Constellations, 11, 13–14, 35, 202

Control, social, 122–24; informal, 122–23; formal, 123–24; illustration of, 252

Correlations, 11, 13–14, 20, 30; maps showing, 187–88

Cultural area, 53, 55; determination of, 70–75; verification of, 93, 98

Customs, 83, 96, 139, 143, 252

Data: subjective, 8–10, 13, 37, 168–69; *see also* Attitudes; objective, 9, 170; criticism of, 165–66, 196–98; collection of, see observations and interview; documentation of, 192–99

Diary: of interest group, 103, 106–7; characteristics of, 180; as sociological data, 182; of research worker, 182–84; illustration of, 238–44

Directory, social, 93–94

Documentation: of student data, 99, 127, 151; general discussion of, 192–99; face sheets, 194; bibliography of, 199

Documents: historical, 23–25; sociological, 25; *see* Documentation; illustrations of, 228–32, 261–65

Ecological area: determination of, 64–69; relationship to social area, 78–79, 99–100; illustration of, 211, 222–23

Ecological distribution: 28, 53, 64; maps of, 185–87; of members of interest group, 111; for illustration of, 224–25

Enumeration, 26–27

Essays: grade school, 272

Experiment, 8, 17

Exploration, 6. 8, 22 45, 169–70, 193, 196, 201

Face sheet, 192

Fashions, 96

First impressions: of governmental area, 60–64; of immigrant group, 137–38; illustrations of, 257–60
Folkways, 142, 152

Governmental area: compared with social area, 53–54, 70; collection of data on, 57–59; first impressions of, 60–63; natural history of, 88–90

Hinterland, 89, 233
Historical method, 22, 26; sociological use of, 23; comparison with other methods, 30–32; bibliography of, 33
History: and sociology, 23–26, 82; contemporary, 24–25, 91; of social area, 82–87; of governmental area, 88–89; of interest group, 108–10, 245–47; of immigrant group, 135–36, 138; map, 220–21
Hypotheses, 6, 7, 16, 35, 42, 51, 100, 153, 162

Immigrant group, 41–42; characteristics of, 129–32; outlines for study of, 129–55; bibliography of, 133; illustration of, 255–66
Indices, 10, 67, 68, 186
Institutions, 83, 142, 74; *see also* Centers and organizations
Interest group, 41–42; characteristics of, 102; outlines for study of, 106–28; bibliography of, 105; illustration of, 237–54
Interpretation: of social-area, 100; of interest group, 127–28; of immigrant group, 151–52; general discussion of, 11–14, 205–6; illustration of, 251–53, 256–58
Interstitial area, *see* Marginal area
Interview: technique of, 168–79; with old residents, 86–87; criticism of, 25, 197; social research, 168–79; as social situation, 170; gestures and the, 171–72; initial contact of, 172–73; completion of, 176–77; record of, 179, 196; bibliography of, 179; illustrations of, 228–32; blank for, 270–71
Introspection: 8, 163–64; *see also* Data, subjective
Isolation, 91–94, 142, 233, 248, 251

Laboratory social research, 42
Land values: map of, 64
Leadership, 83, 97, 109; of a group, 116–17, 143; illustration of, 251, 256
Life-history, 115, 136; of immigrant, 146–50; illustrations of, 261–65

Maps: technique of, 185–91; ecological 64–70 (topographical, 65; physical structure, 65; building, 66–74, 222–23; zoning, 67; business center, 67, 222–23; land values, 68, 74, 222–23; rent, 75); illustrations of, 218, 222–23; of cultural area, 71–74 (nationality, 71–73, 224–25; racial, 73; residence, occupation, religions, institutions, architecture, 73–75); of political area, 75–77; of marginal area, 77–78; interpretation of, 68, 190–91; bibliography of, 191; form for recording, 269

Nationality, *see* immigrant group
Natural areas, 25, 53–54, 57, 64; illustration of, 234; *see also* Social area, ecological area, cultural area, political area, marginal area
Neighborhood, 41, 52, 70; *see also* Natural area
Newspapers, 58, 136, 145; special outline for study of, 273–74

Observation: common-sense, 3, 4, 6, 36; technique of, 161–65; personal equation and, 162–64; as a record, 164–65; criticism of, 165; bibliography of, 167
Organizations, 95, 100, 141; ecology of, 111, 226–27; *see* Interest group

Participant observer, 104, 106–7, 243–44
Personality, 37, 113–15
Physical environment, 60–61; 64–67; map of, 220, 222
Political area, 54–55; determination of, 70, 75–77
Problem, 5–7; listing of, 51, 101, 128, 153; statement of, 194–95

Records, 36, 55, 59; *see* Documents and documentation
Rituals, 109

Science: aim of, 3–4; procedures of, 5–16; theories, 14–16; concepts of, 14–15; laws of, 14, 16, 35; variations in methods of, 30–31
Scientific method, 4, 8, 17–18, 119

Social area: natural history of, 82–87; contemporary study of, 91–93; *see* Natural area, cultural area, political area, marginal area

Social distance, 11

Sociological research: objectives of, 3–18; methods of, 19–32, bibliography of, 18

Sociology: defined, 34–35; and other sciences, 17–18, 20, 51; and history, 23–26

Solidarity: of group, 124, 252

Statistical method, 6, 26–30; and other methods, 30–31; bibliography of, 33

Statistics, 10–11; of governmental area, 88–89; of immigrants, 135; techniques of, 159; maps and, 185–86; of ecological area, 216

Status, 123

Survey: sociological, 47; social, 48–50; general plan of, 55

Techniques, 9, 32, 43, 45; general discussion of, 158–60; standardization of, 159–60; statement of, 195; *see* Part III

Territorial group: outlines for study of, 57–99; bibliography of, 56; illustration of study of, 211–36

Traditions, 83, 109, 123, 139, 144, 256

Transportation, 66, 83, 89

Trends, 26, 28, 85; maps of, 188–89

Type studies: scope and use of, 41–46; objectives of, 45–46; use of outlines of, 43–45

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